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LOUIS XI .

King of France .

*Published by C. Knight, Pall Mall East.*

*"Loyd"*

**HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS**

**OF**

**QUENTIN DURWARD,**

**SELECTED FROM**

**THE MEMOIRS OF PHILIP DE COMINES,**

**AND**

**OTHER AUTHORS.**

---

**LONDON:**

**PRINTED FOR CHARLES KNIGHT,**

**7, PALL-MALL EAST.**

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PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES,  
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## ADVERTISEMENT.

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THE Memoirs of Philip de Comines have long been esteemed, as furnishing an authentic, impartial, and lively delineation of the remarkable era of Louis XI. of France. They have recently acquired an extraordinary interest, as the ground-work of one of the most vigorous and beautiful of those masterly productions, by which the spirit of past ages is brought before us in the most natural and vivid colours ; and the hard historical outline of great events and remarkable personages, is worked up into a portraiture full of life and beauty. It is exceedingly



curious and instructive to trace such a writer to the sources from which he has derived his incidents and characters;—to mark where he has followed, or where he has departed from, the authentic relations or established traditions of the periods of which he treats; and to discover how readily a creative genius avails itself of the most trifling anecdote, or the slightest description, to give a spirit and truth to his fiction which pure invention can never attain. The labour of such an inquiry is, however, great. To abridge that labour, has been the object of the present little work. In addition to the Memoirs of Comines, his various commentators, and other historians, have been carefully consulted; and the illustrations which they offered of ‘*Quentin Durward*’ have been introduced in observations upon

each chapter of the novel, so as to enable the reader to refer with ease to any particular passage. The execution of this plan has been unavoidably hasty, but it is hoped that no material errors have escaped observation.

June 24, 1823.

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# HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS

OF

## QUENTIN DURWARD.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### THE CONTRAST.

THE author of *Quentin Durward* commences his narrative by a clear, though rapid, view of the state of France and the neighbouring countries, in the latter part of the fifteenth century. We shall transcribe his character of Louis XI., for the purpose of comparing it with the description which Comines has given of the same ambitious and crafty Prince :

“ Brave enough for every useful and political purpose, Louis had not a spark of that romantic

valour, or of the pride connected with and arising out of it, which fought on for the point of honour, when the point of utility had been long gained. Calm, crafty, and profoundly attentive to his own interest, he made every sacrifice, both of pride and passion, which could interfere with it. He was careful in disguising his real sentiments and purposes from all who approached him, and frequently used the expressions, 'that the king knew not how to reign, who knew not how to dissemble; and that, for himself, if he thought his very cap knew his secrets, he would throw it into the fire.' No man of his own, or of any other, time, better understood how to avail himself of the frailties of others, and when to avoid giving any advantage by the untimely indulgence of his own.

He was by nature vindictive and cruel, even to the extent of finding pleasure in the frequent executions which he commanded. But, as no touch of mercy ever induced him to spare, when he could with safety condemn, so no sentiment of vengeance ever stimulated him to a premature violence. He seldom sprung on his prey till it was fairly within his grasp, and till all chance of rescue was in vain; and his movements were so

studiously disguised, that his success was generally what first announced to the world what object he had been manœuvring to obtain.

In like manner, the avarice of Louis gave way to apparent profusion ; when it was necessary to bribe the favourite or minister of a rival prince for averting any impending attack, or to break up any alliance confederated against him. He was fond of license and pleasure ; but neither beauty nor the chase, though both were ruling passions, ever withdrew him from the most regular attendance to public business and the affairs of his kingdom. His knowledge of mankind was profound, and he had sought it in the private walks of life, in which he often personally mingled ; and, though personally proud and haughty, he hesitated not, with an inattention to the arbitrary divisions of society, which was then thought something portentously unnatural, to raise from the lowest rank, men whom he employed on the most important duties, and knew so well how to choose them, that he was rarely disappointed in their qualities.

Yet there were contradictions in the nature of this artful and able monarch ; for humanity is never uniform. Himself the most false and in-



sincere of mankind, some of the greatest errors of his life arose from too rash a confidence in the honour and integrity of others. When these errors took place, they seem to have arisen from an over-refined system of policy, which induced Louis to assume the appearance of undoubting confidence in those whom it was his object to overreach ; for, in his general conduct, he was as jealous and suspicious as any tyrant who ever lived.

Two other points may be noticed, to complete the sketch of this formidable character, who rose among the rude chivalrous sovereigns of the period, to the rank of a keeper among wild beasts, who, by superior wisdom and policy, by distribution of food, and some discipline by blows, comes finally to predominate over those, who, if unsubjected by his arts, would by main strength, have torn him to pieces.

The first of these attributes was, Louis's excessive superstition, a plague with which Heaven often afflicts those who refuse to listen to the dictates of religion. The remorse arising from his evil actions Louis never endeavoured to appease, by any relaxation in his Machiavelian stratagems, but laboured, in vain, to sooth and silence that

painful feeling, by superstitious observances, severe penance, and profuse gifts to the ecclesiastics. The second property, with which the first is sometimes found strangely united, was a disposition to low pleasures and obscure debauchery. The wisest, or at least the most crafty, sovereign of his time, was fond of ordinary life; and, being himself a man of wit, enjoyed the jests and repartees of social conversation more than could have been expected from other points of his character. He even mingled in the comic adventures of obscure intrigue, with a freedom scarce consistent with the habitual and guarded jealousy of his character."

The view which the historian of this monarch takes of his character, is unquestionably more favourable; but it is easy to discover in the sketch of Comines, the outline of the crafty, intriguing, familiar, and sarcastic Louis of 'Quentin Durward.'

"Of all the princes that I ever had the honour to know, the wisest and most dexterous to extricate himself out of any danger or difficulties in time of adversity, was our master King Louis XI. He was the humblest in his conversation and

habit, and the most painful and indefatigable to win over any man to his side, that he thought capable of doing him either much mischief or good: though he was often refused, he would never give over a man that he once undertook, but still pressed and continued his insinuations, promising him largely, and presenting him with such sums and pensions as he knew would satisfy his ambition; and for such as he had discarded in the time of peace and prosperity, he paid dear (when he had occasion for them) to recover them again; but when he had once reconciled them, he retained no pique to them for what had passed, but employed them freely for the future. He was naturally kind and indulgent to persons of indifferent condition, and morose to such as he thought had no need of him. Never prince was so conversable, nor so inquisitive, as he, for his desire was to know every body he could; and, indeed, he knew all persons of any authority or worth in England, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, the territories of the Dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, and in his own country; and by those qualities he preserved the crown upon his head, which was in much danger, by the enemies he had created to himself by his inadvertency

upon his accession to the crown. But, above all, his great bounty and liberality did him the greatest service; and yet, as he behaved himself wisely in time of distress, so when he thought himself a little out of danger, though it were but by a truce, he would disoblige the servants and officers of his court by mean and trifling ways, which were little to his advantage; and as for peace, he could hardly endure the thoughts of it. He spoke slightly of most people, and rather before their faces, than behind their backs, unless he was afraid of them, and of that sort there were a great many, for he was naturally timorous. When he had done himself any prejudice by his talk, or was apprehensive he should do, to make them amends whom he had injured, he would say to the person whom he had disoblige, 'I am sensible my tongue has done me a great deal of mischief, but, on the other hand, it has sometimes done me good; however, it is but reason I should make some reparation for the injury;' and he never used those kind of apologies to any person, but he did something for the person to whom he made it, and it was always considerable. It is certainly a great blessing for any prince to have experienced ad-

versity as well as prosperity, good as well as evil, and especially if the good outweighs the evil, as it did in our master. I am of opinion that the troubles he was involved in, in his youth, when he fled from his father, and resided six years together in the Duke of Burgundy's court, were of great service to him; for there he learned to be complacent to such as he had occasion to use, which was no little improvement."

The daring rival of Louis is thus painted in 'Quentin Durward:'

"Charles, surnamed the Bold, or rather the audacious, for his courage was allied to rashness and frenzy, then wore the ducal coronet of Burgundy, which he burned to convert into a royal and independent regal crown. The character of this Duke was, in every respect, the direct contrast to that of Louis XI.

The former was calm, deliberate, and crafty, never prosecuting a desperate enterprise, and never abandoning a probable one, however distant the prospect of success. The genius of the Duke was entirely different. He rushed on danger, because he loved it; and on difficulties, because he despised them.' As Louis never sacrificed his interest to his passion, so Charles, on the

other hand, never sacrificed his passion, or even his humour, to any other considerations. Notwithstanding the near relationship that existed between them, and the support which the Duke and his father had afforded to Louis, in his exile when dauphin, there was mutual contempt and hatred betwixt them. The Duke of Burgundy despised the cautious policy of the king, and imputed to the faintness of his courage, that he sought by leagues, purchases, and other indirect means, those advantages, which, in his place, he would have snatched with an armed hand ; and he hated him, not only for the ingratitude he had manifested for former kindnesses, and for personal injuries and imputations which the ambassadors of Louis had cast upon him, when his father was yet alive ; but also, and especially, because of the support which he afforded, in secret, to the discontented citizens of Ghent, Liege, and other great towns in Flanders."

Comines, who knew Charles the Bold intimately, thus speaks of him, after describing his death, in 1476, through the treachery of the Count of Campobasso :

" I have known him a powerful and honourable prince, in as great esteem, and as much courted

by his neighbours (when his affairs were in a prosperous condition) as any prince in Europe, and perhaps more ; and I cannot conceive what should provoke God Almighty's displeasure so highly against him, unless it was his self-love and arrogance, in appropriating all the success of his enterprises, and all the renown he ever acquired, to his own wisdom and conduct, without attributing any thing to God ; yet to speak truth, he was master of several good qualities. No prince ever had a greater ambition to entertain young noblemen than he, nor was more careful of their education : his presents and bounty were never profuse and extravagant, because he gave to many, and had a mind every body should taste of it. No prince was ever more easy of access to his servants and subjects. Whilst I was in his service he was never cruel, but a little before his death he took up that humour, which was an infallible sign of the shortness of his life. He was very splendid and curious in his dress, and in every thing else, and indeed a little too much. He paid great honours to all ambassadors and foreigners, and entertained them nobly. His ambitious desire of fame was insatiable, and it was that which induced him to be eternally in wars, more than any

other motive. He ambitiously desired to imitate the old kings and heroes of antiquity, whose actions still shine in history, and are so much talked of in the world, and his courage was equal to any prince's of his time."

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## CHAPTER II.

## ● THE WANDERER.

THE exquisite descriptions of the fortunes of the young Scotch adventurer, whose name gives a title to this romance, are not founded on any historical authority ; and of course it will form no part of our design to follow him through the various scenes of court intrigue, and love, and danger, through which he passes. Our duty will be carefully to supply any illustration of the narrative which is furnished by authentic relations. Our remarks are intended for the information of those who have read ‘ *Quentin Durward* ;’ and therefore we are not improperly anticipating the developement of the plot, to assume at once that, of the two strangers who encounter ‘ *the Wanderer*,’ the one is *Louis*

XI., and the other Tristan L'Hermite, his provost marshal. The first historical coincidence which we find is in the description of the king's clothes :—

“ His jérkin, hose, and cloak, were of a dark uniform colour, but worn so thread-bare, that the acute young Scot conceived that the wearer must either be very rich or very poor, probably the former. The fashion of the dress was close and short ; a kind of garments which were not then held decorous among gentry, or even the superior class of citizens, who generally wore loose gowns which descended below the middle of the leg.”

\* \* \* \* \*

“ The young stranger had some difficulty to reconcile his looks, with the meanness of his appearance in other respects. His cap, in particular, in which all men of any quality displayed either a broach of gold or of silver, was ornamented with a paltry image of the Virgin, in lead, such as the poorer sort of pilgrims bring from Loretto.”

Comines, in relating an interview between Louis XI. and the King of Castile, thus describes the habit of the French monarch :

“ Our king wore a short coat, as ill made as was possible ; sometimes he wore very coarse cloth, and particularly then ; his hat was old, and differing from every bodies else, by an image of lead which he carried upon it. The Castilians laughed heartily at his dress, supposing it his covetousness.”

We must go out of our way to refer to Chapter VIII. for another passage, illustrating the dress of the French king :

“ Louis, always a scorner of outward show, wore, on the present occasion, an old dark-blue hunting-dress, not much better than the plain burgher suit of the preceding day, and garnished with a huge rosary of ebony, which had been sent to him by no less a personage than the Grand Seignior, with an attestation that it had been used by a Coptic hermit on Mount Lebanon, a personage of profound sanctity. And for his cap with a single image, he now wore a hat, the band of which was garnished with at least a dozen of little paltry figures of saints stamped in lead.”

In the character of Louis, his superstition forms a prominent feature. The king, after encountering young Durward, leads him

to a little chapel, which, with its inmate, is thus described :

“ The trees in this secluded spot were chiefly beeches and elms of huge magnitude; which rose like great hills of leaves into the air. Amidst these magnificent sons of the earth, there peeped out, in the most open spot of the glade, a lowly chapel, near which trickled a small rivulet. Its architecture was of the rudest and most simple kind ; and there was a very small lodge beside it, for the accommodation of a hermit or solitary priest, who remained there for regularly discharging the duty of the altar. In a small niche, over the arched door-way, stood a stone image of Saint Hubert, with the bugle-horn around his neck, and a leash of grey-hounds at his feet. The situation of the chapel, in the midst of a park or chase, so richly stocked with game, made the dedication to the Sainted Huntsman peculiarly appropriate.

Towards this little devotional structure the old man directed his steps, followed by young Durward ; and, as they approached, the priest, dressed in his sacerdotal garments, made his appearance, in the act of proceeding from his cell

to the chapel, for the discharge doubtless of his holy office. Durward bowed his body reverently to the priest, as the respect due to his sacred office demanded ; whilst his companion, with an appearance of still more deep devotion, kneeled on one knee to receive the holy man's blessing, and then followed him into church, with a step and manner expressive of the most heartfelt contrition and humility."

This description of the holy man, or hermit of Plessis, was probably suggested by the following curious passages in Comines, in which he details the king's fits of devotion, when the fear of death, in his last illness, had begun to seize upon him:—

" Among men renowned for devotion and sanctity of life, he sent into Calabria for one Friar Robert, whom for the holiness and purity of conversation the king called the holy man ; and in honour to him our present king erected a monastery at Plessis-du-Parc, in compensation for the chapel near Plessis at the end of the bridge. This hermit, at the age of twelve years, was put into a hole in a rock, where he lived three and forty

years and upwards, till the king sent for him by the steward of his household, in the company of the Prince of Tarento, the King of Naples' son. But this hermit would not stir without leave from his holiness, and from his king, which was great discretion in a man so unexperienced in the affairs of the world as he was. He built two churches in the place where he lived ; he never ate flesh, fish, eggs, milk, or any thing that was fat, since he undertook that austerity of life ; and truly I never saw any man living so holy, nor out of whose mouth the Holy Ghost did more manifestly speak ; for he was illiterate, and no scholar, and only had his Italian tongue, with which he made himself so much admired. This hermit passed through Naples, where he was respected, and visited (with as much pomp and ceremony, as if he had been the Pope's legate) both by the King of Naples and his children, with whom he conversed as if he had been all the days of his life a courtier. From thence he went to Rome, where he was visited by the cardinals, had audience three times of the Pope, and was every time alone with him three or four hours ; sitting always in a rich chair placed on purpose for him (which was great honour for a person in

his private capacity) and answering so discreetly to every thing that was asked him, that every body was extremely astonished at it, and his holiness granted him leave to erect a new order, called the Hermits of St. Francis. From Rome he came to our king, who paid him the same adoration, as he would have done to the Pope himself, falling down upon his knees before him, and begging him to prolong his life: he replied as a prudent man ought. I have heard him often in discourse with the king that now is, in the presence of all the nobility of the kingdom; and that not above two months ago, and it seemed to me, whatever he said or remonstrated, was done by inspiration; or else it was impossible for him to have spoken of some things that he discoursed of. He is still living, and may grow either better or worse, and therefore I will say nothing. There were some of the courtiers that made a jest of the king's sending for this hermit, and called him the holy man by way of banter; but they knew not the thoughts of that wise king, and had not seen what it was that induced him to do it."

## CHAPTER III.

## THE CASTLE.

FROM the conclusion of the last chapter, and the commencement of this, we extract three passages, which are powerfully descriptive of the vigilance with which the castle of Plessis was guarded :

“ ‘ You are now near the court, young man,’ answered his guide ; ‘ and, *pasques Dieu !* there is some difference betwixt walking in this region, and on your own heathy hills. Every yard of this ground, excepting the path which we now occupy, is rendered dangerous, and well nigh impracticable, by snares and traps armed with scythe-blades, which shred off the unwary passenger’s limb as sheerly as a hedge-bill lops off a hawthorn-sprig ; and calthrops that would pierce your foot through, and pit-falls deep enough to bury you in for ever ; for you are



now within the precincts of the royal demesne, and we shall presently see the front of the chateau.'

"The verge, both of the outer and inner circuit of this triple moat, was strongly fenced with palisades of iron, serving the purpose of what are called *chevaux de frise* in modern fortification, the top of each pale being divided into a cluster of sharp spikes, which seemed to render any attempt to climb over an act of self-destruction."

"To enhance his surprise, his companion told him that the environs of the castle, except the single winding path, by which the portal might be safely approached, were, like the thickets through which they had passed, surrounded with every species of hidden pitfall, snare, and gin, to entrap the wretch who should venture thither without a guide; that upon the walls were constructed certain cradles of iron, called *swallows' nests*, from which the sentinels who were regularly posted there, could take deliberate aim at any who should attempt to enter without the proper signal or pass-word of the day; and that the archers of the royal guard performed that duty, day and night, for which they received

high pay, rich clothing, and much honour and profit at the hands of King Louis."

The descriptions, in Comines, of the jealousy with which the Castle of Plessis was guarded, refer to the period from 1481 to 1484, when the King's suspicions and cruelty grew stronger as his health declined. We cannot accuse the great Novelist of a positive violation of chronology, in seizing upon these picturesque circumstances, at an anterior date than warranted by the historian, for it was more than probable that something like the same vigilance was exercised at an earlier period of Louis's troublesome reign :—

"In the first place, nobody was admitted into Plessis du Parc (which was the place where he kept himself) but his domestic servants, and his archers, which were four hundred, some of which kept constant guard at the gate, while others walked continually about to prevent its being surprised. No Lord, nor person of quality, was permitted to lie in the castle, nor to enter with any of his retinue; nor indeed did any of them come in, but the Lord de Beaujeu, the pre-

sent Duke of Bourbon, who was his son-in-law. Round about the Castle of Plessis he caused a lattice, or iron gate to be set up, spikes of iron planted in the wall, and a kind of crows' feet, with several points to be placed along the ditch, wherever there was a possibility for any person to enter: besides which, he caused four watch-houses to be made all of thick iron, and full of holes, out of which they might shoot at their pleasure, and which were very noble, and cost above twenty thousand franks, in which he placed forty of his cross-bows, who were to be upon the guard night and day, with orders to let fly upon any man that offered to come near before the opening of the gate in the morning."

"The King, towards the latter end of his days caused his Castle of Plessis-lea-Tours to be encompassed with great bars of iron, in the form of a grate, and at the four corners of the house four watch-towers of iron, strong, massy, and thick, to be built. The grates were without the wall on the other side of the ditch, and went to the bottom. Several spikes of iron were fastened into the wall, set as thick by one another as was possible: he placed likewise ten bow-men in the ditches, to shoot at any man that durst

approach the castle till the opening of the gate ; ordered they should lie in the ditches, but retire to the watch-towers upon occasion. He was sensible enough that this fortification was too weak to keep out an army, or any great body of men, but he had no fear of such ; his great apprehension was, that some of the nobility of his kingdom having intelligence within, should attempt to make themselves masters of the castle by night; and having possessed themselves of it partly by affection, and partly by force, should deprive him of the regal authority ; and take upon themselves the administration of public affairs ; upon pretence he was incapable of business, and no longer fit to govern. The gate of du Plessis was never opened, nor the draw-bridge let down, before eight in the morning, at which time the courtiers were let in ; and the captains ordered their guards to their several posts, with a main guard in the middle of the court, as in a town upon the frontiers that was closely besieged : nor was any person admitted to enter but by the wicket, and those only by the King's order, unless it were the steward of his household, and such officers as were not admitted into the presence."

“ Our King was at Plessis, with little company but his archers, and the jealousies against which he had carefully provided ; for he left no person of whom he had any suspicion, either in town or country ; but he sent his archers not only to warn, but to conduct them away.”

The ever-active cruelty of Louis XI. in executing martial law upon the objects of his vengeance or suspicion, is thus early remarked by Quentin Durward :—

“ ‘To speak more plainly, then’, said the youth, ‘there grows a fair oak some flight-shot or so from yonder castle—and on that oak hangs a man in a gray jerkin, such as this which I wear.’

‘Ay and indeed!’ said the man of France—*‘Pasques Dieu!’* see what it is to have youthful eyes ! Why, I did see something, but only took it for a raven among the branches. But the sight is no way strange, young man ; when the summer fades into autumn, and moonlight nights are long, and roads become unsafe, you will see a cluster of ten, ay, of twenty such acorns, hanging on that old doddered oak.—But what then ?—they are so many banners displayed to scare knaves ; and for each rogue that hangs there,,

an honest man may reckon that there is a thief, a traitor, a robber on the highway, a pillour and oppressor of the people, the fewer in France. These, young man, are signs of our Sovereign's justice.'"

Claude de Seyssel thus notices the 'acorns,' which the sanguinary Louis delighted to behold on the oaks of his domain:—

"He readily entertained suspicions of many persons, and he lightly lent his ears to spies; so that very often, upon the weakest evidence, he would cause individuals, nobles as well as others, to be seized and tortured, and sometimes, it is said, to be put to death; and being afterwards convinced of their innocence, he would repent of his haste, and in some fashion seek to amend it. If he gave his orders coolly, he had at hand Tristan L'Hermite, his Provost Marshal, who executed them as promptly,—and there was no appeal from him, as one might often see, about the places where the king resided, a great number of people hanging from the trees."

We may dismiss this subject with a well known anecdote of the King and Tristan L'Hermite, recorded in Mezeray:—

“ Hardened in the furnace of inhumanity, Louis regarded a murder as a trifling crime; and Tristan L’Hermite, his great provost, a servant worthy of such a master, well seconded the pitiless monarch. One day the King, observing an officer at his levée to whom he wished no good, made a private sign to Tristan; who, apt at his duty, enticed the devoted object (as he believed,) of the royal anger into the palace-court, thrust him into a sack, and sent him floating down the Seine. Unluckily he had mistaken a well-fed monk, who stood in the same line with the captain, for the devoted victim. Next day Louis, having been told that the officer whom he hated had been seen alive, frowned on Tristan. ‘Your majesty must mistake; the monk must be almost at Roan.’ ‘What monk?’ ‘Him your majesty pointed at.’ ‘Pasques Dieu, (said the humane prince,) you have drowned me the best priest in France! Well! we must have a dozen masses said for his soul. It was a sad mistake of yours. I meant that dog of a captain, not the poor monk.’ ”

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE DEJEUNER.

IN the conversations between Maitre Pierre (the King,) and Quentin Durward, several of the contemporary princes are noticed. Thus :

“ ‘ Well, my young hot-blood,’ replied Maitre Pierre, ‘ if you hold the *Sanglier* too unscrupulous, wherefore not follow the young Duke of Gueldres ?

‘ Follow the foul fiend as soon,’ said Quentin. ‘ Hark in your ear—he is a burthen too heavy for earth to carry—hell gapes for him ! Men say that he keeps his own father imprisoned, and that he has even struck him—Can you believe it ?’

Maitre Pierre seemed somewhat disconcerted with the naive horror with which the young Scotchman spoke of filial ingratitude, and he answered, ‘ You know not, young man, how short a while the relations of blood subsist amongst those



of elevated rank ;' then changed the tone of feeling in which he had begun to speak, and added, gaily, ' besides, if the Duke has beaten his father, I warrant you, his father hath beaten him of old, so it is but a clearing of scores.'

' I marvel to hear you speak thus,' said the Scotchman, colouring with indignation ; ' gray hairs such as yours ought to have fitter subjects for jesting. If the old Duke did beat his son in childhood, he beat him not enough ; for better he had died under the rod, than have lived to make the Christian world ashamed that such a monster had been ever baptized.' "

The crime and the fate of this infamous son are thus described by Comines :—

" There was a young Duke of Gueldres called Adolphus, who had married a daughter of the House of Bourbon, sister to the present Duke. The marriage having been consummated in the Duke of Burgundy's court, was the reason that he still retained some affection for him, and continued his friend. This young Duke had committed a most execrable fact, in seizing upon his father one night as he was going to bed, carrying him five Dutch leagues, on foot, bare-legged, in a very cold night, and confining him a close pri-

soner in a dungeon at the bottom of a tower, where there was no light but what came through a cleft in the wall, and where he kept him in that miserable condition for the space of six months. This barbarous action occasioned a desperate war between the Duke of Cleves (whose sister the old Duke had married) and the young Duke Adolphus. The Duke of Burgundy often interposed his good offices, and would fain have accommodated their difference, but could not effect it. At length the Pope and the Emperor began to stir in the affair, and the Duke of Burgundy was commanded upon great penalty to release the old Duke Arnold out of prison, and it was done: for the young duke seeing so many princes concerned in the business, and fearing lest the Duke of Burgundy would otherwise have done it by force, consented to it. I have seen them both several times in the Duke of Burgundy's chamber, pleading their causes before the council, and the good old man in a passion throw his son his glove, and demand the combat. The Duke of Burgundy would fain have reconciled them, and offered to the young Duke, who was his favourite, the title of Governor of Burgundy, and the province of Gueldres, with the whole

revenue thereof, and that only a small town near Brabant, called Grave, with a revenue of six thousand florins, (one half to be received out of the profits of the said town, and the other as a pension,) should be continued to his father with the title of duke, as was but reasonable. I was deputed (with other wiser than myself,) to make this report to his son, whose answer was, That he had rather fling his father headlong into a well, and himself after him, than consent to such an accommodation; for his father had been Duke four and forty years already, and it was time now that he should have his turn; but if that would satisfy him, he would condescend to allow him a pension of three thousand florins, upon condition he would leave the duchy, and never come into it again; besides several other extravagant and detestable expressions to that effect. This happened just at the time when the King took Amiens from the Duke of Burgundy, who was then with these two Dukes at Dourlans, very busy in adjusting their differences. Upon the news of the taking Amiens, he removed suddenly to Hesdin, and forgot their controversy which was before him. The young Duke disguised himself like a Frenchman, and

endeavoured (only with one servant,) to make his escape into his own country. Passing a ferry not far from Namur, he paid a florin for his passage, which being observed by a priest that stood by, he presently suspected him, asked the ferryman what it was he had given him, and looking earnestly upon the person who gave it, he knew him, caused him to be apprehended and carried to Namur, where he was kept a prisoner, till, upon the Duke of Burgundy's death, the citizens of Ghent released him, and would have forced the Duke's daughter, (since Duchess of Austria,) to have married him. After which, taking him along with them in their expedition against Tournay, he was miserably slain, and as sordidly buried, as if the vengeance of God Almighty for his barbarity to his father could not have been satisfied with the first. The old Duke dying before the Duke of Burgundy, and during his son's imprisonment, (upon the account of his inhuman and vile treatment,) disinherits him, and leaves the succession of Gueldres to the Duke of Burgundy."

The conversation then proceeds to the Constable of France, whose merits are thus discussed :—

“ ‘ You laugh at me, Maitre Pierre,’ said the youth, good-humouredly, ‘ and perhaps you are right ; but you have not named a man who is a gallant leader, and keeps a brave party up here, under whom a man might seek service well enough.’

‘ I cannot guess whom you mean.’

‘ Why he that hangs like Mahomet’s coffin (a curse be upon him !) between the two loadstones—he that no man can call either French or Burgundian, but who knows to hold the balance between them both, and makes both of them fear and serve him, for as great princes as they be.’

‘ I cannot guess whom you mean,’ said Maitre Pierre, thoughtfully.

‘ Why, whom should I mean but the noble Louis de Luxembourg, Count of Saint Paul, the High Constable of France ? Yonder he makes his place good, with his gallant little army, holding his head as high as either King Louis or Duke Charles, and balancing between them, like the boy who stands on the midst of a plank, while two others are swinging on the opposite ends.’

‘ He is in danger of the worst fall of the three,’ said Maitre Pierre. ‘ And hark ye, my young friend, you who hold pillaging such a crime, do

you know that your politic Count of Saint Paul was the first who set the example of burning the country during the time of war ? and that before the shameful devastation which he committed, open towns and villages, which made no resistance, were spared on all sides ? ”

Comines describes the offence which, at a posterior date, 1472, this prince had committed against both parties—his vindictive spirit—and his power, in the following passage :—

“ The king, and those who were nearest about him, had conceived great hatred against him, and the Duke of Burgundy a greater, as he had reason, (for I have heard the true causes on both sides.) It was impossible for him to forget that the Count de St. Paul had been the occasion of the revolt of Amiens and St. Quentin ; and he shrewdly suspected that he was the cause and fomentor of the war between him and the king ; for, during the cessation of arms, he gave him the best words in the world, but as soon as the war was begun again, he shewed himself to be his mortal enemy : besides, the count would have forced him to have married his daughter, as you have heard. The

duke had also another quarrel to him, and that was, that during the time the duke lay before Amiens, the constable made an inroad into Hainault, and among the rest of his actions, burned a castle called Soire, which belonged to a certain knight called Baudouin de Lannoy. Till this war it was not usual to burn any places, of either side. But, to retaliate upon the constable, the Duke of Burgundy fired all that summer wherever he came ; so that to be revenged of the constable, both sides began to conspire against him. In discourse between some of the king's party, and certain of the Duke of Burgundy's courtiers, who they knew to be the constable's enemies, they happened to mention him ; and all of them agreeing that he was the occasion of the war, they began to open themselves more freely, and discover all his expressions on both sides, and by degrees unanimously resolved to contrive his ruin.

But some persons may hereafter perhaps demand, whether the king was not able to have ruined him alone ? I answer, no ; for his territories lay just between the King and the Duke of Burgundy ; he had St. Quentin always, and another strong town in Vermandois. He had Han, and Bohain, and other considerable places not far

from St. Quentin, which he might always garrison with what troops, and of what country, he pleased. He had four hundred of the king's men at arms, well paid, was commissary himself, and made his own *maisters* (by which means he feathered his nest very well, for he never had his complement.) He had likewise a salary of forty-five thousand franks, and exacted a crown upon every pipe of wine that passed into Hainault, or Flanders, through any of his dominions ; and besides all this, he had great lordships and possessions of his own, a great interest in France, and a greater in Burgundy, upon account of his relations."

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## CHAPTER V.

### THE MAN AT ARMS.

THE interview between Quentin Durward and his uncle Balafre, is highly characteristic of national manners ; and, like other fine passages of this author, seizes upon every thing that is picturesque in costume for its illustration. There are no parts that have immediate reference to history.

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## CHAPTER VI.

### THE BOHEMIANS.

THE remarks upon the frequent executions which Louis caused to be made by his Provost Marshal, Tristan L'Hermite, apply to this very spirited chapter.

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE ENROLMENT.

**THE** discipline and habits of the Scottish Guards, which are here so vividly described, are not at all inconsistent with the historical details of contemporary writers. Comines mentions these troops several times, and implies the dependence which Louis had upon their courage and fidelity.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

## THE ENVOY.

On the court of Louis, at Plessis, our novelist thus speaks :

“ New as Quentin was to scenes of splendour, the effect of that which was now before him rather disappointed the expectations which he had formed of the brilliancy of a court. There were household officers indeed, richly attired ; there were guards gallantly armed, and there were domestics of various degrees : But he saw none of the ancient counsellors of the kingdom, none of the high officers of the crown, heard none of the names which in those days sounded an alarm to chivalry ; saw none either of those generals or leaders, who, possessed of full prime of manhood, were the strength of France, or of the more youthful and fiery nobles, those early aspirants after honour, who were her pride. The jealous habits—the reserved manners—the deep and

artful policy of the King, had estranged this splendid circle from the throne, and they were only called around it upon certain stated and formal occasions, when they went reluctantly, and returned joyfully, as the animals in the fable are supposed to have approached and left the den of the lion.

The very few persons who seemed to be there in the character of counsellors, were mean-looking men, whose countenances sometimes expressed sagacity, but whose manners shewed they were called into a sphere for which their previous education and habits had qualified them but indifferently."

Claude de Seyssel tells the same facts in a few plain sentences:—

"As soon as he was crowned he began to estrange and to despise the princes and great lords of the kingdom; he took away from many, and he diminished the offices and estates of others which they held of the king his father, and persecuted his principal servants; and surrounded himself, and was served by mean and obscure persons, audacious fellows, ever ready to do his bidding."

The celebrated Oliver le Dain, the king's politic barber, is thus introduced to us:—

“ This was a little, pale, meagre man, whose black-silk jerkin and hose, without either coat, cloak, or cassock, were ill-qualified to set off to advantage a very ordinary person. He carried a silver basin in his hand, and a napkin flung over his arm indicated his menial capacity. His visage was penetrating and quick, although he endeavoured to banish such expression from his features, by keeping his eyes fixed upon the ground, as, with the stealthy and quiet pace of a cat, he seemed modestly rather to glide than walk through the apartment. But though modesty may easily disguise worth, it cannot hide court favour ; and all attempts to steal unperceived through the presence-chamber were vain, on the part of one known to have such possession of the King's ear, as had been attained by his celebrated barber and groom of the chamber, Oliver le Dain, called sometimes Oliver le Mauvais, and sometimes Oliver le Diable.”

Comines does not furnish any detailed notice of the singular character of this wily servant ; but the following extract is illus-

trative of the opinion which the historian had formed of him :—

“ Monsieur Oliver was despatched by the King's orders to Ghent, with letters to the Lady of Burgundy, Duke Charles's daughter, and a full power, under hand, (by the by,) to make certain overtures to her, if she would put herself under the king's protection. This was not the main design of his errand, for he knew it would be a difficult thing to have a private conference with the young lady alone, and if he had one, it would be no less difficult to persuade her to do it ; his chief business was to bring about some innovation in the city, to which it had been always inclinable.

Monsieur Oliver, the barber, following his instructions, tampered with some persons whom he judged most tractable, and offered them that not only all their old privileges should be restored, but what new ones they pleased to demand should be added. These overtures were not made in their senate, nor publicly, but in private, as I said before, for he had a mind to try first what he could do with the young lady ; but they guessed his design. After Monsieur Oliver had been some days in Ghent, he was conducted

to his audience in the best garb he could possibly procure. The Lady of Burgundy was in her chair of state, the Duke of Cleves on one hand, the Bishop of Liege on the other, and several other persons of quality attending her; Monsieur Oliver presented his credentials, and after the Lady had read them, she bade him deliver his message; his answer was that his instructions were to deliver them only in private. They replied, that was a custom never practised among them, and could not be introduced now with a young lady that was fit for marriage. He persisted that by his orders he could communicate his business to nobody else: upon which they threatened to compel him by force, and put the poor barber into a terrible consternation. I fancy when he delivered the said letters he had not provided himself with an answer, for indeed, as you have heard, that business was but by the by; however it was, Monsieur Oliver left the assembly without insisting any further on it. Some of the council had a very contemptible opinion of him, both in respect of the meanness of his profession, and the uncomeliness of his demeanour and language; but more especially the citizens of Ghent, because he was born in a pitiful village near that

city, who put several affronts upon him, by which he thought it time to begone ; for he was informed that, if he had staid a little longer, they would have thrown him into the river ; and, truly, I am of opinion that would have been his destiny."

The tyranny which the king exercised towards the Duke of Orleans is thus described by Claude de Seyssel:—

"He constrained him by force and menaces to marry Madame Joan, his daughter, a lady discreet, devout, and honourable, but much deformed in person, and incapable of bearing children."

This unfortunate princess is characteristically painted in Quentin Durward:—

"The younger sister, the unfortunate Joan, the destined bride of the Duke of Orleans, advanced timidly by the side of her sister, conscious of a total want of those external qualities which women are most desirous of possessing, or being thought to possess. She was pale, thin, and sickly in her complexion, her shape visibly bent to one side, and her gait so unequal that she might be called lame. A fine set of teeth, and



eyes which were expressive of melancholy, softness, and resignation, with a quantity of light brown locks, were the only redeeming points which flattery itself could have dared to number, to counteract the general homeliness of her face and figure. To complete the picture, it was easy to remark, from the Princess's negligence in dress, and the timidity of her manner, that she had an unusual and distressing consciousness of her own plainness of appearance, and did not dare to make any of those attempts to mend by manners or by art what nature had left amiss, or in any other way to exert a power of pleasing."

When Dunois informs the king that the Burgundian ambassador demands an audience, he replies:—

"Did you not answer him, as we sent you word by Oliver, that we were not at leisure to see him to-day,—and that to-morrow was the festival of St. Martin, which, please heaven, we would disturb by no earthly thoughts."

The same observance of Saints' days is well described in this passage of Comines :

"The next day was Childermass-Day, on which the king neither spoke himself, nor per-

mitted any one else to reply to him about business, but took it as an ill omen, and would be very pettish when any such thing was proposed, especially from those who waited on him, and knew his temper. However, the morning I speak of, when the king was dressed, and gone in to his devotions, one came to me with news that there were at least nine thousand English in the town. I resolved to venture his displeasure, and acquaint him with it ; whereupon entering into his closet, I said, Sir, though it be Childermass-Day, I think myself bound in duty to inform your majesty of what I have heard. Then I gave him an account of the number of troops already in the town ; that more were coming in every moment ; that they were all armed, and that nobody durst shut the gate upon them for fear of provoking them. The king was not offended, but left his prayers, and told me, that for once he would put off the devotions of that day."

The King speaking of Balue, says to Du-nois, " this is for the present a good conceited animal of a Bishop." There is a somewhat similar and highly characteristic extract from one of the King's letters in

Brantome, referring to the same Cardinal  
"This is for the present a good devil c  
Bishop."

The demand of the Burgundian envoy, t  
the King should restore Isabella, Count  
of Croye, is an ingenious fiction interwo  
in the narrative of the wars between Lo  
XI. and the Duke of Burgundy.

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## CHAPTER IX.

### THE BOAR HUNT.

THE King's passion for the chase, upon which this chapter turns, is described in Comines :

“ In hunting, his eagerness and pain were equal to his pleasure, for his chase was the stag, which he always run down : he rose very early in the morning, rode sometimes a great way to his dogs, and would not leave his sport, let the weather be never so bad ; and when he came home at night was always very weary, and generally in a violent passion with some of his courtiers, or huntsmen ; for hunting is a sport not always to be managed according to the master's direction ; yet in the opinion of most people, he understood it as well as any man of his time : he was continually at his sports, lying up and down in the country-villages as his recreations led him, till he was interrupted by the war.”

The novelist thus incidentally notices one of the dark features of the character of Louis :—

“ It was, perhaps, the recollection of his own filial ingratitude, that made the King pause.”

The same fact is alluded to in Chap. III. Claude de Seyssel, who always writes with sufficient ill-will towards Louis, thus describes these passages of his life :—

“ To speak of the beginning of his reign, it is notorious, that it was by the cruelty of his father, or, as many do think, by his own rashness, that he was for the space of seven years and more, so hated and suspected by his said father, that whatever surety could be offered him, he never desired to put himself in his power ; insomuch that from the fear of his person he was obliged to fly for refuge to him who had been the mortal enemy of his father, until such time that he was reconciled ; and during the time that he was a fugitive in Flanders, neither himself nor those who had accompanied him, desired any thing so much as the death of his said father ; some seeking afore knowledge thereof, by augurs and

divinations, others by astrology, and several by necromancy; and, besides this, there were domestic servants of the said King, who expected to have a great reward from the son, for sending him speedy intelligence of the sickness and death of his father."

The mortification which Cardinal Balue experienced from the caustic temper of Louis, throws him into the arms of the Burgundian envoy. The *Scandalous Chronicle* of Troyes thus notices the Cardinal's defection:—

"In April 1469, M. John Balue, Cardinal of Angiers (on whom the King had in a short time conferred vast riches and honours, doing more for him than for any prince of the blood, and whom the Pope by his Majesty's recommendation had advanced to a cardinal's cap,) most shamefully betrayed the confidence the King had reposed in him, and having neither God in his thoughts, nor the honour nor interest of the kingdom before his eyes, basely betrayed his Majesty into the Duke of Burgundy's hands at Peronne."

## CHAPTER X.

### THE SENTINEL.

THE whole of this chapter is a forcible dramatic sketch, not founded upon history, but created by the author's vivid conception of the secret actions of a crafty prince, regardless of the means by which he might attain his purposes.

END OF VOL. I.

**VOL. II.**





## CHAPTER I.

### THE HALL OF ROLAND.

THE scene between the Countess Isabelle, her aunt, the Princess Joan, and the Duke of Orleans, does not receive any sanction from the memoirs of the times.

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## CHAPTER II.

### THE POLITICIAN.

WE have already referred to the King's practice of wearing little images of saints in his hat. His use of these images is thus described in the chapter before us :—

“ The King, as he thus expressed himself, doffed his hat, and selecting from the numerous little

leaden figures with which the hat-band was garnished that which represented Saint Julian, he placed it on the table, as was often his wont when some peculiar feeling of hope, or perhaps of remorse, happened to thrill across his mind ; and, kneeling down before it, muttered, with an appearance of profound devotion, ‘ *Sancte Juliane, adsis precibus nostris ! Ora, ora, pro nobis !* ’ ”

Claude de Seyssel, the historian of Louis XII., furnishes a remarkable illustration of this superstition of Louis XI. :—

“ His devotion was more superstitious than religious.—\* \* \* \* His hat was always filled with images, for the most part of lead or pewter, which, whenever any good or evil news arrived, or when the fantasy took him, he would kiss, throwing himself upon his knees before them, sometimes so suddenly that he appeared deranged in his mind rather than a wise man.”

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## CHAPTER III.

## THE JOURNEY.


THAT superstition, which was the prevailing weakness of Louis XI.'s mind, led him to place implicit belief in all the pretensions of astrology. With this persuasion he always retained about him some professor of that art. Our author has availed himself of this trait, to introduce to us the character of Galeotti Marti:—

“ Louis led the way, followed by the impatient Quentin, to a separate tower of the Castle of Plessis, in which was installed, in no small ease and splendour, the celebrated astrologer, poet, and philosopher, Galeotti Marti, or Martius, or Martivalle, a native of Narni, in Italy, the author of the famous Treatise, *De Vulgo Incognitis*, and the subject of his age's admiration, and of the panegyrics of Paulus

Jovius. He had long flourished at the court of the celebrated Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, from whom he was in some measure decoyed by Louis, who grudged the Hungarian monarch the society and the counsels of a sage, accounted so skilful in reading the decrees of Heaven.


Martivalle was none of those ascetic, withered, pale professors of mystic learning, who bleared their eyes over the midnight furnace, and macerated their bodies by outwatching the polar bear. He indulged in all courtly pleasures, and, until he grew corpulent, had excelled in all martial sports and gymnastic exercises, as well as in the use of arms ; insomuch, that Janus Pannonius has left a Latin epigram, upon a wrestling match betwixt Galeotti and a renowned champion of that art, in the presence of the Hungarian King and Court, in which the Astrologer was completely victorious.

The apartments of this courtly and martial sage were far more splendidly furnished than any which Quentin had yet seen in the royal palace, and the carving and ornamented wood-work of his library, as well as the magnificence displayed in the tapestries, shewed the elegant taste of the



learned Italian. Out of his study one door opened to his sleeping apartment, another led to the turret which served as his observatory. A large oaken table, in the midst of the apartment, was covered with a rich Turkey carpet, the spoils of the tent of a Pacha after the great battle of Jaiza, where the Astrologer had fought abreast with the valiant champion of Christendom, Matthias Corvinus. On the table lay a variety of mathematical and astrological instruments, all of the most rich materials and curious workmanship. His astrolabe of silver was the gift of the Emperor of Germany, and his Jacob's staff of ebony, jointed with gold, and curiously inlaid, was a mark of esteem from the reigning Pope.

There were various other miscellaneous articles disposed on the table, or hanging around the walls ; amongst others, two complete suits of armour, one of mail, the other of plate, both of which, from their great size, seemed to call the gigantic Astrologer their owner ; a Spanish toledo, a Scottish broad-sword, a Turkish scimitar, with bows, quivers, and other warlike weapons ; musical instruments of several different kinds ; a silver crucifix, a sepulchral antique vase, and several of the little brazen Penates of the ancient



heathens, with other curious non-descript articles, some of which, in the superstitious opinions of that period, seemed to be designed for magical purposes. The library of this singular character was of the same miscellaneous description with his other effects. Curious manuscripts of classical antiquity lay mingled with the voluminous labours of Christian divines, and of those painstaking sages who professed the chemical science, and proffered to guide their students into the most secret recesses of nature, by means of the Hermetical Philosophy. Some were written in the eastern character, and others concealed their sense or nonsense under the veil of hieroglyphics and cabalistic characters. The whole apartment, and its furniture of every kind, formed a scene very impressive on the fancy, considering the general belief then indisputably entertained, concerning the truth of the occult sciences; and that effect was increased by the manners and appearance of the individual himself, who, seated in a huge chair, was employed in curiously examining a specimen, just issued from the Frankfort press, of the newly invented art of printing."

It is necessary to furnish an authentic account of this learned man, for the purpose

of showing, first, that the author of Quentin Durward has very properly represented him as something superior to the lying conjurers of the days of ignorance; and secondly, that he is incorrectly made to figure as an agent at the court of Plessis, as he was never fortunate enough to enter the service of Louis XI., having broken his neck at their first interview. The following account, extracted from the 'Addition à L'Histoire de Louis XI.,' by M. Naudé, is extremely curious:—

“As to Galeotus Martius, who was a native of the city of Narni, in Italy, he was a man profoundly skilled in letters, a great critic, a philosopher, a physician, an astrologer, a humanist, and an orator; as may be seen by his books *De Doctrinâ Promiscuâ*, *De Homine*, *De Dictis Matthiæ Regis*, *De Censurâ Operum Philelphi*, and *De Vulgò Incognitis*; of the which, although I have seen only the three first in print, it must, nevertheless, be supposed that the fourth is so likewise, seeing that Marsile and some other authors and librarians often cite it; and the last,



filled with very learned and curious maxims, of the which some samples may be seen in Vadianus and La Popelinière, is now preserved in the library of the King—where the learned and reverend Father Mersene has assured me he has many times seen and consulted it. Besides this, he was also very adroit in the management of all sorts of arms; and, though he was of a somewhat large, heavy, and bulky stature, he nevertheless overcame, in a solemn challenge and regular combat, the most able wrestler of his time, as Janus Panonius, Bishop of Five Churches, has remarked in this epigram :

Qualis in Æthola mœrens Achelous arena,  
Herculeâ legit cornua fracta manu.  
Talis luctator Galeotto victus Alesus,  
Turpia pulvereâ signa reliquit humo.  
Mathiæ Regi latîæ placuere palestræ,  
Risit Strigonia clarus ab arce, pater.  
At te ne pudeat ludi cessisse magistro  
Improbe ; Mercurius noster et ista docet.

Wherefore Louis XI. having heard of this great prodigy of learning, grew somewhat jealous of Matthias Corvinus, who had chosen him for his master, and the companion of his studies ; and, moved by an honourable emulation, made proposals to him of so much advantage, that he

determined at length on quitting Hungary, to the end that he might better and more fully enjoy the honour and the reputation which he had acquired by his merits, and breathe in all comfort the air of France, under the favour and liberality of so powerful a King. But, O strange misfortune ! on his arrival at Lyons, where the King was, in the year 1476, he was so surprised by the suddenness of the meeting, that in his hurry to alight, in order to salute him, he fell from his horse with so great violence, that he broke his neck, and died on the spot. The learned Joannes Pierius Valerianus, from whom we have this story, relates it in his book *De Litteratorum Infelicitate*, in these terms ; *Solebat Galeotte Narniensis qui apud nos diu versatus erat miserescere, ut quidem suis clarior lucubrationibus, et magnorum Principum familiaritate magis celebris quam nostro possit clarescere testimonio cùm à Francorum Rege Ludovico ejus nominis undecimo, accersitus ex Panoniis ubi Mathiæ Regis liberalitate deliciabatur, Lugdunum ad salutandum Gallum Regem se conferret, forte illi factus ex itinere ante urbis portas obviam, dum magna vir corporis habitudine pinguedineque et obesi ventris mole gravis, ab equo*

*se dimittere at terram vellet, id scilicet honoris Principi habiturus, suo ipsius tractus pondere ita corruit, ut adliso terræ capite fractoque gutture statim expiravit.*—In which nevertheless he doth not agree with Paul Jove, and Scardeon, who describe his death as having come to pass in a town near unto Padua, where he was suffocated by his obesety and corpulency.”

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## CHAPTER IV.

### THE JOURNEY.

THERE is nothing in this chapter which appears capable of receiving historical illustration.

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## CHAPTER V.

### THE GUIDE.

THE prison of Loches, and the iron cages of Louis, are thus alluded to :

“ ‘ To Loches ! ’ The sound of a name yet more dreaded than Plessis itself, fell like a death-toll upon the ear of the young Scotchman. He had heard it described as a place destined to the workings of those secret acts of cruelty with which even Louis shamed to pollute the interior of his own residence. There were in this place of terror dungeons under dungeons, some of them unknown even to the keepers themselves ; living graves, to which men were consigned with little hope of farther employment during the rest of their life, than to breathe impure air, and feed on bread and water. At this formidable castle were also those dreadful places of confinement called *cages*, in which the wretched prisoner could neither stand upright, nor stretch himself at length ; an invention, it is said, of the Cardinal Balue.”

The authority is in Comines :—

“ The King had ordered several cruel prisons to be made, some of iron and some of wood, but covered with iron plates both within and without, with terrible cages about eight feet wide and seven high ; the first contriver of these was the Bishop of Verdun (Balue,) who was the first that hanselled them, being immediately put in one of them, where he continued fourteen years.”

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## CHAPTER VI.

THE VAGRANT.

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## CHAPTER VII.

THE ESPIED SPY.

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THE occurrences in these chapters are wholly imaginary ; but they present a vivid picture of the character of those unsettled times.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## PALMISTRY.

THE author here first introduces us to Louis of Bourbon, Bishop of Liege :

“ Louis of Bourbon, the reigning Bishop of Liege, was in truth a generous and a kind-hearted prince ; whose life had not indeed been always confined, with precise strictness, within the bounds of his clerical character ; but who, notwithstanding, had uniformly maintained the frank and honourable character of the House of Bourbon, from which he was descended.

In latter times, as age advanced, the Prelate had adopted a life more befitting a member of the hierarchy than his early reign had exhibited, and was loved among the neighbouring princes, as a noble ecclesiastic, generous and magnificent in his ordinary mode of life, though preserving no very severe rectitude of character, and governing with an easy indifference, which, amid his

wealthy and mutinous subjects, rather encouraged than subdued rebellious purposes."

To deepen the interest of his plot, the novelist gives us a much more favourable impression of this prelate than his cotemporary, Comines; who describes him as a man wholly addicted to pleasure, and a luxurious way of living, and scarce distinguishing good from bad of himself.

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## CHAPTER IX.

## THE CITY.

THE fickle and proud humour of the Liegeois, prone to insurrection on the slightest occasion, is finely described in this chapter. The arts of Louis to stir them up to rebellion are acknowledged by Comines. The following passage from Quentin Durward will give us occasion to notice the penalties which they had previously brought upon themselves by their inconstancy:—

“ ‘ You do not know the men of Liege,’ said the Chaplain, ‘ of whom it may be said, that, not even excepting those of Ghent, they are at once the fiercest and the most untameable in Europe. Twice has the Duke of Burgundy chastised them for their repeated revolts against their bishop, and twice hath he suppressed them with much severity, abridged their privileges,



CHAPTER X.

THE BILLET.

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CHAPTER XI.

THE SACK.

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THE greater part of the incidents in these chapters, are of a private and romantic description.

## CHAPTER XII.

## THE REVELLERS.

THIS is one of the most powerful chapters in the novel. As a portraiture of horror, it is perhaps unequalled. It describes the sanguinary fury of William de la Marck,—the courageous piety of the Bishop of Liege, and his brutal murder by a ferocious ruffian. It is necessary to guard the reader of history against giving implicit credence to this magnificent description. The facts of the insurrection at Liege, previous to the imprisonment of Louis XI., at Peronne, are distinctly described by Comines; and from him we learn that *William de la Marck* was not then an actor in these scenes; that the Liegeois revolted under *William de Vilde*; and that the Bishop was not killed:

“ The King at his coming to Peronne had quite forgot his sending of two ambassadors to Liege, to stir them up to a rebellion against the Duke, and they had managed the affair with such diligence, that they had got together such a considerable number, that the Liegeois went privately to Tongres, (where the Bishop of Liege and the Lord d’Hymbercourt were quartered with more than two thousand men) with a design to surprise them: the Bishop, the Lord d’Hymbercourt, and some of the Bishop’s servants were taken, but the rest fled and left whatever they had behind them, as despairing to defend themselves. After which action the Liegeois marching back again to Liege, which is not far from Tongres, the Lord d’Hymbercourt made an agreement for his ransom with one Monsieur William de Vilde, called by the French, *la Sauvage*, a Knight, who, suspecting the Liegeois would kill him in their fury, suffered the Lord d’Hymbercourt to escape, but was slain himself not long after: the people were exceedingly over-joyed at the taking of their Bishop: there were also taken with him that day, several canons of the church whom the people equally hated, and killed five or six of them for their first repast: among the rest there was

one Monsieur Robert, an intimate friend of the Bishop's, and a person I have often seen attending him armed at all points, for in Germany it is the custom of the prelates. They slew this Robert in the Bishop's presence, cut him into small pieces, and in sport threw them at one another's heads: before they had marched seven or eight leagues, which was their full journey, they killed about sixteen canons and other persons, the greatest part of which were the Bishop's servants; but they released some of the Burgundians."

The death of the Bishop of Liege did indeed take place by the hands of William de la Marck, but this event occurred in 1477, nine years after the era of the novel. The catastrophe is thus briefly described by Comines :—

"This Bishop took into his councils Monsieur William de la Marck, a fine gentleman, and a brave soldier, but of a cruel and malicious temper, and one who favoured the citizens of Liege, and had been always an enemy to the Duke of Burgundy's family, and to the Bishop himself. The Princess of Burgundy gave this de la Marck fifteen thousand florins, partly on the Bishop's

account, and partly to oblige him to espouse her interest; but it was not long before he openly declared both against her and his master the Bishop, and by the assistance of our King would have made his own son bishop of Liege; after which he fought with, defeated, and with his own hands slew, the Bishop in battle, and ordered his body to be thrown into the river, where it was found three days after."

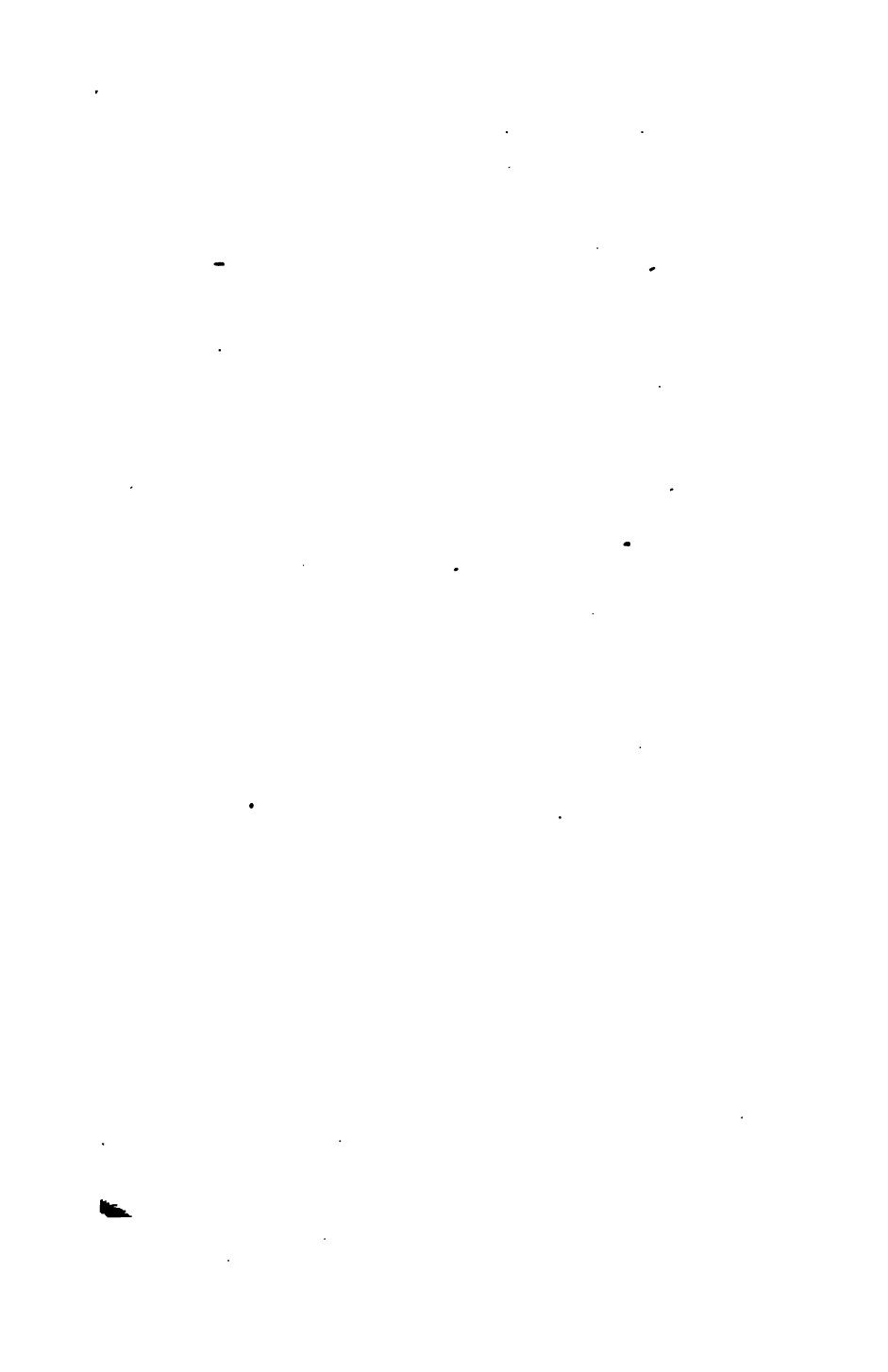
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## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE FLIGHT.

THE principal actor noticed by history, in this scene, is Philip de Crevecœur, Lord of Cordes. He was an active and brave officer of the Duke of Burgundy, but, in 1477, after the death of the Duke, went over to the service of Louis.

**VOL. III.**



## CHAPTER I.

### THE SURRENDER.

QUENTIN Durward and Crevecœur still continue upon the scene;—and the events at Liege form the principal subject of their discourse.

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## CHAPTER II.

### THE UNBIDDEN GUEST.

THIS chapter introduces us to the Baron de Hymericourt, at Peronne, receiving news of the insurrection at Liege. The extract from Comines shows that this nobleman was really a witness to that event. He is thus described in the novel:—



“ A fine baronial figure, with a dark countenance, marked with that sort of sadness which some physiognomists ascribe to a melancholy temperament, and some, as the Italian statuary augured of the visage of Charles I., consider as predicting an unhappy death.”

This nobleman, whose destiny was written in his countenance, was beheaded by the Gantois, in 1477.

The companion of the Baron de Hymbercourt was the celebrated Philip de Comines, to whose *Memoirs* our author is so largely indebted. He is thus noticed :—

“ A little lively-looking man, with an eye of great vivacity, which was corrected by an expression of reflection and gravity about the mouth and upper lip—the whole physiognomy marking a man rather of counsel than of action, who saw and judged rapidly, but was sage and slow in forming resolutions or in expressing opinions. This was the famous *Sieur d'Argenton*, better known in history, and amongst historians, by the venerable name of *Philip des Comines*, at this time close to the person of *Duke Charles the Bold*, and one of his most esteemed counsellors.”

Sleidan, who wrote the life of Comines, thus speaks of his talents:—

“ His conversation was chiefly among foreigners, being desirous to inform himself of all things and places, and very careful of employing his time well ; so that he was never known to be idle. He had a prodigious memory, and such a wonderful facility in expressing his thoughts, that he would at the same time dictate to four secretaries different things, all of them of great importance, and with the same ease and dexterity as if there had been but one.”

The conduct of the Duke of Burgundy, upon learning the determination of Louis to visit him at Peronne, is thus related:—

“ ‘ Which of you was it,’ he asked, ‘ who witnessed the meeting of my cousin Louis and me, after the battle of Montl’hery, when I was so thoughtless as to accompany him back within the entrenchments of Paris, with half a score of attendants, and so put my person at the king’s mercy ?’ I replied, that ‘ most of us had been present ; and none could ever forget the alarm which it had been his pleasure to give us.’ ‘ Well,’ said the duke, ‘ you blamed me for my

folly, and I confessed to you that I had acted like a giddy-pated boy; and I am aware, too, that my father, of happy memory, being then alive, my kinsman, Louis, would have had less advantage by seizing on my person, than I might now have by securing his. But, nevertheless, if my royal kinsman comes hither on the present occasion, in the same singleness of heart under which I then acted, he shall be royally welcome. If it is meant by this appearance of confidence, to circumvent and to blind me, till he executes some of his politic schemes, by Saint George of Burgundy, let him look to it.' ”

This singular escape of the Duke of Burgundy, in 1465, is thus minutely described by Comines :—

“ This discourse of peace was so pleasing both to the king, and the Count de Charolois, that (as I have heard him say since,) as they were talking friendly together, how the remaining difficulties might be adjusted, (not regarding their way,) they walked on towards Paris, and so far they proceeded, that they were entered into a great bulwark of earth and wood, which the king had caused to be made at a good distance from the town, at the farther end of a

trench, whose other end led into the city. The count was attended but by five or six persons, who were all of them extremely surprised when they found where they were ; however, the count put the best face on it that he could : but it is probable that at that time neither of those two princes had any design in it, for neither the one nor the other received any prejudice. When the news of the count's being got into one of the enemies' works was brought to the army, there was a great murmur in the camp ; and immediately the Count de St. Paul, the Marshal of Burgundy, the Lords de Contay and Haultbourdin, and several other of the chief officers, met together about it, and unanimously agreed that both the Count de Charolois and those that were with him, had been guilty of a great piece of indiscretion, especially after the misfortune which had happened to his grandfather at Montereau-fault-Yonne in the presence of Charles VII. Hereupon they commanded the soldiers, that were strolling up and down in the fields, to repair to their arms ; and the Marshal of Burgundy, (whose surname was Neuf-chastel,) spoke to this effect : ' If this mad hair-brained young prince has cast away himself, let not us ruin the

family, his father's interest, nor our own; my opinion therefore is, that every man should retire to his quarters, and be ready, without concerning ourselves for any thing that shall happen; for keeping together, we are able to make our retreat to the frontiers of Hainault, Picardy, or Burgundy, as we please.'

After he had given his opinion in this manner, he and the Count de St. Paul mounted on horse-back, and rode out of the camp, to see if they could descry any body coming from Paris. After they had expected some time, they perceived a body of forty or fifty horse marching towards them, which were the Count de Charolois, and a convoy that the king had sent to guard him to his camp. When the count saw them coming towards him, he dismissed his convoy, and addressed himself to the marshal, of whom he was most afraid; for being a true old soldier, and firm to his interest, he took the liberty sometimes of reprimanding him severely, and to tell him, 'Whilst your father lives, I am but borrowed, and none of your servant.' The first thing the count said to him, was, 'I pray be not angry, I am sensible of my folly, but I perceived it not till I was too near the bulwark to

get off.' The marshal replied, that 'It was done in his absence.' The count bowed his head, and gave him no answer, but returned presently to the camp, where he was joyfully received by the whole army, and every one highly extolled the king's honour and generosity; but for all that, the count never afterwards would trust himself in his power."

The first suspicions of the King of France, at this ominous visit, in consequence of finding some of his banished nobles in the service of the Duke of Burgundy, are thus painted by the novelist:—

"Our duke offered to let the king's archer-guard have a gate of the town, and a bridge of boats over the Somme, and to have assigned to Louis himself the adjoining house, belonging to a wealthy burgess, Giles Orthen; but in going thither, the king espied the banners of De Lau and Pencil de Riviere, whom he had banished from France; and scared, as it would seem, with the thought of being so near refugees and malcontents of his own making, he craved to be lodged in the Castle of Peronne, and *there* he hath his abode accordingly."

Comines thus clearly relates the same circumstance :—

“ You have heard how it was agreed the king should come to Peronne : thither he came, without any guard more than the passport, and parole of the Duke of Burgundy ; only he desired that the duke’s archers under the command of the Lord des Cordès (who was then in the duke’s service) might meet and conduct him, and so it was done, very few of his own train coming along with him : however, his majesty was attended by several persons of great quality and distinction, and among the rest the Duke of Bourbon, the Cardinal his brother, and the Count de St. Paul, constable of France, who had no hand in this interview, but was highly displeased with it, for he was now grown haughty, and disdained to pay that respect to the duke which he had formerly done ; for which cause there was no true friendship between them : besides these, there came the Cardinal Balüe, the governor of Rousillon, and several others. When the king came near, the duke went out (very well attended) to meet him, conducted him into the town, and lodged him at the receiver’s,

who had a fine house not far from the castle, for the lodgings in the castle were but small, and no way convenient.

War between two great princes is easily begun, but very hard to be composed, by reason of the accidents and consequences which often follow ; for many secret practices are used, and orders given out on both sides to make the greatest efforts possible against the enemy, which cannot presently be countermanded ; as evidently appear by these two princes, whose interview was so suddenly determined, that neither having time to notify it to their ministers in remote parts, they had already performed the commands which their respective masters had given them before. The Duke of Burgundy had sent for his army out of Burgundy, where at that time there was abundance of the nobility which came along with the army, and among the rest, the Count de Bresse, the Bishop of Geneva, and the Count de Romont, all three brothers of the house of Savoy, (for between the Savoyards and Burgundians there was always a firm amity,) and some Germans who were borderers upon both their territories ; you must know that the king had formerly imprisoned the Count de Bresse upon



the account of two gentlemen which he had put to death in Savoy, so that there was no right understanding between him and the king.

In this army there were likewise one Monsieur du Lau, (who had been a favourite of the king's, but upon some disgust kept afterwards a prisoner by him a long time, till at length he made his escape, and fled into Burgundy) the Lord d'Urfè, since master of the horse to the King of France, and the Lord Poncet de Riviere, all which company arrived before Peronne as the king came into the town.

The king had notice presently of all these persons being in town, and of the habits in which they arrived, which put him into a great consternation; so that he sent to the Duke of Burgundy to desire he might be lodged in the castle, for he knew those gentlemen were his mortal enemies: the duke was extremely glad to hear it, appointed him his own lodgings, and sent to him to bid him fear nothing."

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## CHAPTER III.

## THE INTERVIEW.

THE author of *Quentin Durward* has the faculty of making all the rich anecdotes of history his own. He is not indeed very scrupulous as to the correctness of persons, time, or place, in his employment of them ;—but he ever introduces those passages by which his characters are illustrated, with a most happy judgment. The following dialogue is singularly indicative of the humour of Louis XI. :—

“ ‘ Well, fair cousin,’ said the king, ‘ I see that you are so good a friend to France, that you are unwilling to part with aught that belongs to her. But we shall need some moderator in these affairs, when we come to treat of them in council—What say you to Saint Paul ?’

‘ Neither Saint Paul, nor Saint Peter, nor

e'er a Saint in the Calendar,' said the Duke of Burgundy, 'shall preach me out of possession of Peronne.'

'Nay, but you mistake me,' said King Louis, smiling; 'I mean Louis de Luxembourg, our trusty constable, the Count of Saint Paul.—Ah! Saint Mary of Embrun! we lack but his head at our conference! the best head in France, and the most useful to the restoration of perfect harmony betwixt us.'

'By Saint George of Burgundy!' said the duke, 'I marvel to hear your majesty talk thus of a man, false and perjured, both to France and Burgundy—one who hath ever endeavoured to fan into a flame our frequent differences, and that with the purpose of giving himself the airs of a mediator. I swear by the order I wear, that his marshes shall not be long a resource for him!'

'Be not so warm, cousin,' said the king, smiling, and speaking under his breath; 'when I wished for the constable's *head*, as a means of ending the settlement of our trifling differences, I had no desire for his *body*, which might remain at Saint Quentin's with much convenience.'

‘Ho! ho! I take your meaning, my royal cousin,’ said Charles, with the same dissonant laugh which some of the king’s coarse pleasantries had extorted, and added, stamping with his heel on the ground, ‘I allow, in that sense, the head of the constable *might* be useful at Peronne.’”

The circumstance which suggested this singular passage is to be found in Comines:—it took place in 1475:—

“The king dictated a letter to the constable, in which his majesty acquainted him with what had been transacted the day before in relation to the truce. He told him, that at that instant he had weighty affairs upon his hands, and wanted such a head as his to finish them; and then turning to the English nobleman, and the Lord de Contay, he told them, I do not mean his body, I would have his head with me, and his body where it is. After the letter was read, it was delivered to Rapine, who was mightily pleased with it, and took it as a great compliment in the king to write, that he wanted such a head as his master’s, for he did not understand the sting and ambiguity of it.”

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE EXPLOSION.

THE artifices of Louis, in attaching persons to his interest, are well described in the commencement of this chapter.—We must refer the reader to Quentin Durward for the vivid description of the rage of the Duke of Burgundy, upon learning the insurrection of the Liegeois. The scene is more soberly painted in Comines :—

“Those who fled gave the alarm to the whole country, and it was not long before the Duke had the news of it : some said, all of them were put to the sword ; others affirmed the contrary, (for in things of that nature one messenger seldom comes alone,) but there were some who had seen the habits of the Canons which were slain, and supposing the Bishop and the

Lord d'Hymbercourt had been of the number, they positively averred that all that had not escaped were killed, and that they saw the King's ambassadors among the Liegeois, and they mentioned their very names. All this being related to the Duke, he gave credit to it immediately ; and falling into a violent passion against the King, he charged him with a design of deluding him by his coming thither ; ordered the gates both of the town and castle to be shut up, and gave out by way of pretence, that it was done for the discovery of a certain cabinet which was lost, and in which there was money and jewels to a very considerable value. When the King saw himself shut up in the castle, and guards posted at the gates, and especially when he found himself lodged near a certain tower in which the Count de Vermandois\* had caused his predecessor, one of the Kings of France, to be put to death, he was in great apprehension. I was at that time waiting upon the Duke of Burgundy, in the quality of Chamberlain, and (when I

\* His name was Herbert or Hebert, who under the specious pretence of friendship traitorously seized upon Charles the Simple, in the town of Peronne, in the year 922, and kept him prisoner four years in the Castle, and then put him to death in 926.

pleased) I lay in his chamber, as was the custom of that family. When he saw the gates were shut, he ordered the room to be cleared, and told us who remained, that the King was come thither to circumvent him ; that he himself had never approved of the interview, but had complied purely to gratify the King ; then he gave us a relation of the passages at Liege, how the King had behaved himself by his ambassadors, and that all his forces were killed. He was much incensed, and threatened his majesty exceedingly ; and I am of opinion, that if he had had then such persons about him as would have fomented his passion, and encouraged him to any violence upon the King's person, he would certainly have done it, or at least committed him to the tower. None were present at the speaking of these words but myself, and two grooms of his chamber, one of which was called Charles de Visin, born at Dijon, a man of honour, and highly esteemed by his master. We did not exasperate, but sweetened, his temper as much as possible we could. Some time after he used the same expressions to other people ; and the news being carried about the town, it came at last to the King's ear, who was in a great surprise and

consternation, and indeed so was every body else, foreseeing a great deal of mischief, and reflecting on the variety of things which were to be managed for the reconciling of a difference begun between two such puissant princes, and the errors of which both of them were guilty, in not giving timely notice to their ministers employed in their remote affairs, which must of necessity produce some extraordinary and surprising event."

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## CHAPTER V.

### UNCERTAINTY.

THE agitation of Louis upon his confinement—his alternations of anger and superstition, are admirably described. One of the most extraordinary passages is the prayer of the King, of which we give an extract :—

“ ‘ Sweet Lady of Clery,’ he exclaimed, clasping his hands and beating his breast while he spoke—‘ blessed Mother of Mercy ! thou who art omnipotent with Omnipotence, have compassion with me a sinner ! It is true, that I have something neglected thee for thy blessed sister of Embrun ; but I am a King—my power is great, my wealth boundless ; and were it otherwise, I would double the *gabelle* on my subjects, rather than not pay my debts to you both. Undo these iron doors—fill up these tremendous moats—lead me, as a mother leads a child, out of this

present and pressing danger ! If I have given thy sister the command of my guards, thou shalt have the broad and rich province of Champagne ; and its vineyards shall pour their abundance into thy convent. *I had promised the province to my brother Charles ; but he, thou knowest, is dead—poisoned by that wicked Abbé of Angely, whom, if I live, I will punish !—*I promised this, once before, but this time I will keep my word.—If I had any knowledge of the crime, believe, dearest patroness, it was because I knew no better method of quieting the discontents of my kingdom. O, do not reckon that old debt to my account to-day ; but be, as thou hast ever been, kind, benignant, and easy to be entreated ! Sweetest Lady, work with thy child, that he will pardon all past sins.’”

In a note upon this prayer the author of *Quentin Durward* refers to *Brantome*, as an authority for the degrading superstition of the King. The whole passage in the *Historian* is excessively curious, and we therefore give it at length :—

“Amongst divers remarkable feats of dissimulation, deceit, cunning and gallantry, which this

worthy king performed in his time, was that, where, by specious management, he caused his brother, the Duc de Guienne, to be put to death when he least expected it, and yet he made the greatest show of loving him while he was alive, and of regretting him after his death ; insomuch that no one could perceive that he had been the cause of his death, if it had not been through the means of his fool, who had been with the said Duc his brother, and whom, after his death he retained in his own service, for he was of a merry humour. Being then one day engaged in his pious prayers and orisons, at Clery, before Our Lady, whom he called his good Patroness, at the Grand Altar, and there being nobody near him, save only this fool, who was besides at some distance, and whom he thought too silly and stupid to be able to report any thing ; he was heard to say, ‘ Ah ! my Good Lady ! my dear mistress ! my best friend ! from whom I have always had consolation, I pray thee to supplicate God for me, and to be my advocate with him, that he may pardon me the death of my brother, whom I caused to be poisoned by that wicked Abbé de St. Jean ;’ (mark here, that though he had served him well in this particular

he called him wicked ; and so should all such persons be called) ‘ I confess this to thee as to my good patroness and mistress. Yet, what else could I have done ? he did nothing but disturb my kingdom. Obtain my pardon, then, my Good Lady, and I know what I will give to thee.’ (By this I suppose he meant some fine presents, as he was in the custom of making every year very large and costly presents to the Church.) The fool was not so far off, nor so devoid of sense, nor so deaf, but that he heard and retained all this very well ; insomuch that he repeated it to him before every one, at dinner, and to others, reproaching him with the said affair, and often reminding him that he had caused his brother to be put to death.

The king was thereby much astonished, (he does not do well who trusts to his fools, who sometimes make wise remarks, and tell all that they know, or even guess things by some divine instinct) but he did not retain him ; for he was sent out of the world like the others, for fear that he might again scandalize him by repeating it.”

It is remarkable that while our author should have availed himself of the extraor-

dinary expressions of the King in this prayer, he should have retained the passage relating to his brother Charles the Duc de Guienne ;—who at that period was living, and was made a party in the treaty between Louis and the Duke of Burgundy, at Peronne. We do not see that any thing is gained by such a flagrant violation of history. The reader may, in this place, be curious to know the particulars of so strange an event, in the life of Louis, as the death of his brother by poison. The following passage is in Comines :

“ The Duke of Burgundy being highly concerned at the death of the Duc de Guienne, at the instigation of other people as much concerned as himself, wrote letters full of bitter reflection upon the king to several of the Duc de Guienne’s Towns, but to no purpose.”

In the edition of the memoirs of Comines, by Godefroy, is the following narrative, as a note upon the foregoing passage. It is singularly illustrative of the characters and conduct of Louis XI. and the Duke of Burgundy :

“ The letters of which Comines speaks in this place, are of the 16th July, 1472. The Duke of Burgundy there states, for a fact, that the Abbé of S. Jean d'Angely and Henri de la Roche, accused of having poisoned the Duc de Guienne, and arrested on that ground, confessed in the prison of Bourdeaux, and afterwards in that of Nantes, whither they had been transferred, their having committed that crime in pursuance of the persuasion and direction of the king.

So great a crime called for an exemplary punishment. The parties accused were in custody; these letters state that they had confessed their crime; that confession, if it was really made, formed their conviction, and their punishment could not be too speedy nor too severe; what the nature of their death was does not however appear, and it is certain that they were not publicly executed.

Du Bouchet, in his *Annals of Aquitaine*, and D'Argentré, in his *History of Britany*, say, that the Abbé of St. Jean d'Angely was sent to the great tower of Nantes; and that the gaoler asserted, that ever since the abbé had been in that tower, horrible noises were heard there every night, and that one night a thunderbolt having struck the tower, the abbé was next morning

*gundy, Lothier, Brabant, Lemberg, and Luxembourg, Count of Flanders, Artois, Burgundy, Palatine de Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Namur, Marquis of the Holy Empire, Lord of Frise, of Salins, and Malines; To all our Lieutenants, Admirals, Vice-Admirals, Marshals, Nobles, Knights, Squires, Captains, Routes, and Companies of Gensdarmes, and Archers, and other men at arms; Seneschals, Baillies, Provosts, Escoutettes, Burgomasters, Mayors, Eschevins, Guards and Governors of Cities, Good Towns, Castles, Fortresses, and to all our other Justices, Officers, Subjects, and Servants, health. Whereas the King, contrary to his obligations, promises, and oaths, hath infringed the treaties of peace made between him and us, as well in having withdrawn from us some of our towns, as in divers other undue attempts made against our person, estates, lands, seignories and subjects, hostilely and otherwise in sundry ways unlawful and reprobate, always tending to the destruction of us, and of the princes of the blood, our relatives and allies, as is well known to all persons in the kingdom, whereby last year we were constrained to take arms for our surety and defence; and whereas since that time the said king hath made a shew*

of doing us justice, and restoring our said towns; and whereas, lastly, the ambassadors having especial authority, concluded, and swore in his name that he would not undertake any thing against the persons, estates, and lands of our allies, and in especial of my late very dear Lord of Guienne and Normandy, whom God assoyle, and of our very dear and beloved brother the Duke of Britany, against the which he has nevertheless proceeded, and caused to proceed, quite otherwise from what we could ever have expected, insomuch that as our said brother of Britany and others did before we had determined to return to arms, inform, assure, and notify to us, the said Lord of Guienne has not only been deprived of his duchy of Guienne, but also barbarously of his life, by poisons, mal-practices, sortileges, and diabolical invocations, as has been by the brother Jourdain Favre, surnamed De Vercors, priest of the order of St. Benoist, born at Dye, in the county of Dauphiné, councillor and almoner of the late said Lord of Guienne, and by Henry de la Roche, squire of the kitchen of the said late lord, acknowledged and confessed at Bourdeaux, before the archbishop of the said place, the brother Roland le Croisce Inquisitor of the An



cient Faith, and Doctor in Theology, Master Nicole Dantis, Bachelor in Theology, Master Jean de Blet, Councillor in the Cour des Grands Jours of the said Bourdeaux, thereat being summoned and present Messire Pierre, Lord of Morviller, knight, having the care of the seals of the chancery of the said Lord of Guienne, Master Jehan de Chassaigne, second president in the said Cour des Grands Jours, Loys Blosset, Rogier le Favre, Masters of Requests of the said late Lord, and divers others, declaring by their deposition, confession, and process, having committed so detestable a crime by order of the said king, who had given and promised to them great gifts, estates, offices, and benefices, to consummate that execrable parricide in the person of the said Lord of Guienne his brother, whose virtues and not his faults have, by means of envy, conspired against him, led to the most cruel death that has ever been remembered in that said kingdom or elsewhere ; after which cruel death, the said king, not content, did openly make war on our said brother of Britany, expecting to find him unprepared, and to destroy every thing in malice, only because he loved, cherished, and honoured with all his heart the said Lord of Guienne, as it behoved him to do ;

all the which things have justly moved us to resume the said arms ; on this point, previously called upon to do so by our said brother of Britany, and divers other nobles and honest and brave men of the said kingdom, having continued regret of the said inhuman death ; and whereas we having taken up our residence near this town of Beauvais, our said brother of Britany hath just sent to us the details of the process, confessions, and depositions made, touching the death of the said Lord of Guienne, certifying to us thereby, that the said Brother Jourdain Favre, and Henry de la Roche, have again acknowledged and confessed in the town of Nantes, persisting in their first depositions and confessions, that they had poisoned and maltreated the said Lord of Guienne, by the inducement, persuasion, and order of the said king, in manner that the said death did thereafter ensue, the which death we cannot, ought not, patiently to tolerate nor to suffer, but are bound, as also are all princes and noble personages, to avenge that death, and to pursue all those who have been cause of it, and others who would on this occasion support, defend, and favour them ; we, therefore, these things considered, desiring to do that which by

honour we are bound to do, considering, likewise, the good and just wish of our said brother of Britany and others who have added their entreaties on this subject, we have declared, and formally do declare by these presents, that over and above our other just and reasonable undertakings and quarrels, we will take up, and do take up, the quarrel of the death of the said Lord of Guienne, in order to the taking thereof as much and as great revenge as it may please to God, our Creator, to permit as well against the said king as against all those who in this cruelty would support or favour him in any manner whatsoever; and for the execution of the said purpose we will from this moment bring into the field, at the request of our said brother of Britany, whatever force we may determine to be necessary to besiege and surround on all parts, that said town, to the end, that we may have the men at arms therein contained, who are in great numbers, at our pleasure and will, the which thing is *easy for us to do*, by the means which we have conceived, the which we signify to you, in order that you may determine to serve us therein in all loyalty and duty. Given in our camp, before the town of Beauvais, the XVJ day

of July, in the year of grace, one thousand four hundred and seventy-two. Lower down, by Monseigneur le Duc, signed *Le Kerrest*, and sealed with a little seal with red wax attached to a simple slip of parchment."

The author of *Quentin Durward*, in the chapter before us, makes the King thus express himself of Oliver the barber :

" Oliver is good for nothing but lying, flattering, and suggesting dangerous counsels ; and *Ventre Saint-Dieu !* I think is more like one day to deserve the halter himself, than to use it to another."

The poetical justice of the reader may be satisfied in seeing how this half-prediction was accomplished. The narrative is found in the supplement to the *Memoirs of Comines*, published in the English edition, dedicated to Lord Burleigh :

" Before the king's coronation, the princes of the blood, and the nobility of the kingdom, (who had so often been injured and affronted in the late king's reign, by Oliver le Dain, his barber, one Daniel a Fleming, Monsieur Oliver's servant, and Monsieur John Doyac, who had managed the

affairs of the whole kingdom during part of the reign of Louis XI.) caused informations secretly to be exhibited against them, for several murders, rapines, and other enormous offences, which they had formerly committed ; though some of them were by the express command of the late king. These informations being brought before the court of parliament, they were immediately apprehended, their process made out against them, and at last they were all three condemned to death : And the year following, which was 1484, Monsieur Oliver and his servant Daniel, were executed at Paris ; and Monsieur Doyac had his ears cut off, and his tongue bored through. One of the crimes committed by Monsieur Oliver, and his servant Daniel, and for which they were executed, was this : A certain gentleman was committed to prison by the order of Louis XI., and having a very young and beautiful Lady for his wife, Monsieur Oliver falls desperately in love with her, and promises to release her husband by his intercession, provided she would consent to prostitute herself to his loose desires. Accordingly she did ; but instead of performing his promise, the very next day he ordered his servant Daniel to put him into a sack, and throw

him into the Seine, where he was drowned. This Oliver was by birth a Fleming, had been barber to King Louis, and of greater power and authority with the king than any nobleman in France. This power and influence which he had over the king, was gained by vile and slavish offices about his royal person, too low to mention here. Immediately after the death of Louis XI., a strict inquiry was made into all the exorbitant and superstitious grants that were made by him in his life, all which were resumed ; and whatever lands had been alienated from the Crown, were united to it again."

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## CHAPTER VI.

### RECRIMINATION.

THE interview between the astrologer Galeotti and the incensed king, is admirably managed. The main incident upon which the deliverance of the learned man turns, is as follows :

“ ‘ Can thy pretended skill ascertain the hour of thine own death ?’

‘ Only by referring to the fate of another,’ said Galeotti.

‘ I understand not thine answer,’ said Louis.

‘ Know then, O King,’ said Martius, ‘ that this only I can tell with certainty concerning mine own death, that it shall take place exactly twenty-four hours before that of your Majesty.’

‘ Ha ! sayest thou ?’ said Louis, his countenance again altering.—‘ Hold—hold—go not—

wait one moment.—Saidst thou, *my* death should follow *thine* so closely ?’

‘ Within the space of twenty-four hours,’ repeated Galeotti, firmly, ‘if there be one sparkle of true divination in those bright and mysterious intelligences, which speak, though without a tongue.—I wish your Majesty good rest.’”

We must look again to the fruitful Comines for the origin of this incident. The historian is describing the King’s last illness :

“ He was still attended by his physician, Doctor James Coctier, to whom in five months’ time he had given 54,000 crowns in ready money, besides the bishopric of Amiens for his nephew, and other great offices and estates to him and his friends ; yet this doctor used him so scurvily, one would not have given such unbecoming language to one’s servants, as he gave the king, who stood in such awe of him, he durst not forbid him his presence. It is true he complained of his impudence afterwards, but he durst not change him, as he had done all the rest of his servants ; because he had told him after a most audacious manner one day, I know some time or other you will remove me from



court, as you have done the rest ; but be sure (and he confirmed it with an oath) you shall not live eight days after it. With which expression he was so terrified, that ever after he did nothing but flatter and present him, which must needs be a great mortification to a prince, who had been obeyed all along by so many brave men much above the doctor's quality."

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## CHAPTER VII.

### UNCERTAINTY.

THE contentions of passion in the mind of the Duke of Burgundy, after the seizure of Louis, are painted with a glowing hand by the novelist:

“If the night passed by Louis was fearfully anxious and agitated, that spent by the Duke of Burgundy, who had at no time the same mastery over his passions, and indeed, who permitted them almost a free and uncontrolled dominion over his actions, was still more disturbed.

According to the custom of the period, two of his principal and most favoured counsellors, Hymbercourt and D'Argenton, shared his bed-chamber, couches being prepared for them near the bed of the prince. Their attendance was never more necessary than upon this night, when, distracted by sorrow, by passion, by the desire

of revenge, and by the sense of honour which forbade him to exercise it upon Louis in his present condition, the duke's mind resembled a volcano in eruption, which throws forth all the different contents of the mountain, mingled and molten into one mass.

He refused to throw off his clothes, or to make any preparation for sleep; but spent the night in a violent succession of the most strong passions. In some paroxysms he talked incessantly to his attendants, so thick and so rapidly that they were really afraid his senses would give way; choosing for his theme, the merits and the kindness of heart of the murdered Bishop of Liege, and recalling all the instances of mutual kindness, affection, and confidence, which had passed between them, until he had worked himself into such a transport of grief, that he threw himself upon his face in the bed, and seemed ready to choke with the sobs and tears which he endeavoured to stifle. Then starting from the couch, he gave vent at once to another and more furious mood, and traversed the room hastily, uttering incoherent threats, and still more incoherent oaths of vengeance, while, stamping with his foot, according to his

customary action, he invoked Saint George, Saint Andrew, and whomever else he held most holy, to bear witness, that he would take bloody vengeance on De la Marck, on the people of Liege, and on *him* who was the author of the whole.—These last threats, uttered more obscurely than the others, obviously concerned the person of the king; and at one time the duke expressed his determination to send for the Duke of Normandy, the brother of the king, and with whom Louis was on the worst terms, in order to compel the captive monarch to surrender either the crown itself, or some of its most valuable rights and appanages.

Another day and night passed in the same stormy and fitful deliberations; or rather rapid transitions of passion; for the duke scarcely ate or drank; never changed his dress, and altogether demeaned himself like one in whom rage might terminate in utter insanity. By degrees he became more composed; and began to hold, from time to time, consultations with his ministers, in which much was proposed, but nothing resolved upon. Comines assures us, that at one time a courier was mounted in readiness to depart for the purpose of summoning the Duke

of Normandy ; and in that event, the prison of the deposed monarch would probably have been found, as in similar cases, a brief road to his grave.

At other times, when Charles had exhausted his fury, he sat with his features fixed in stern and rigid immobility, like one who broods over some desperate deed, to which he is as yet unable to work up his resolution."

The parallel passages in Comines will abundantly recompense the attention of the reader :—

" The king thought himself a prisoner in the castle of Peronne, as he had good reason to do ; for all the gates were shut and guarded by such as were deputed to that office, and continued so for two or three days ; during which time the Duke of Burgundy saw not the king, neither would he suffer but very few of his majesty's servants to be admitted into the castle, and those only by the wicket, yet none of them were forbidden ; but of the duke's none were permitted to speak with the king, or come into his chamber, at least such as had any authority with their master. The first day there was great

murmuring and consternation all over the town. The second, the duke's passion began to cool a little, and a council was called, which sat the greatest part of that day, and night too; the king made private applications to all such as he thought qualified to relieve him, making them large promises, and ordering 15,000 crowns to be distributed among them; but the agent, who was employed in this affair, acquitted himself very ill, and kept a good part of the money for his own use, as the king was informed afterwards. The king was very fearful of those who had been formerly in his service, who, as I said before, were in the Burgundian army, and had openly declared themselves for his brother, the Duke of Normandy. The Duke of Burgundy's council were strangely divided in their opinions; the greatest part proposed that the passport which the duke had given to the king might be kept, provided his majesty consented to sign the peace as it was drawn up in writing and engrossed. Some would have him prisoner as he was, without farther ceremony. Others were for sending him with all speed to the Duke of Normandy, and forcing him to make such a peace as should be for the advantage of all the

princes of France. Those who proposed this, advised that the king should be restrained, and a strong guard set upon him; because a great prince is never, or with great caution, to be set at liberty after so notorious an affront. This opinion was so near prevailing, that I saw a person booted and ready to depart, having already several packets directed to the Duke of Normandy, and waited only for the duke's letters."

"The third night after this had happened, the Duke of Burgundy did not pull off his clothes, but only threw himself twice or thrice upon the bed, and then got up again and walked about, as his custom was when any thing vexed him. I lay that night in his chamber, and walked several turns with him. The next morning he was in a greater passion than ever, stormed exceedingly, and was ready to put some great thing in execution."

The interview between the king and Comines has probably authority in the following passage of the historian:—

"The king had some friend or other, who had assured him, that his person would be in no manner of danger, provided he would consent to

those points ; but that if he refused, he would run himself into so great danger, that nothing in the world could be greater."

This passage is elaborated into the exquisite scene between the monarch and the historian.

The conclusion of the interview is highly characteristic:—

" ' Well, Sir Philip, the time must come when thou wilt tire reading lessons of state policy to the Bull of Burgundy, who is incapable of comprehending your most simple argument. If Louis of Valois then lives, thou hast a friend in the court of France. I tell thee, my Philip, it would be a blessing to my kingdom should I ever acquire thee ; who, with a profound view of subjects of state, hast also a conscience, capable of feeling and discerning between right and wrong. So help me, our Lord and Lady, and Monseigneur Saint Martin, Oliver and Balüe have hearts as hardened as the nether millstone ; and my life is imbittered by remorse and penances for the crimes they make me commit. Thou, Sir Philip, possessed of the wisdom of present and past times, canst teach how



to become great without ceasing to be virtuous.' 'A hard task, and which few have attained, said the historian; but which is yet within the reach of princes, who will strive for it. Meantime, Sire, be prepared, for the duke will presently confer with you.'

Louis looked long after Philip when he left the apartment, and at length burst into a bitter laugh. He spoke of fishing—I have sent him home a trout, properly tickled!—And he thinks himself virtuous because he took no bribe, but contented himself with flattery and promises, and the pleasure of avenging an affront to his vanity!—Why, he is but so much the poorer for the refusal of the money—not a jot the more honest. He must be mine though, for he hath the shrewdest head among them."

In a public record of accounts, are the deeds of gift of the principality, lands, and seigniory of Talmont sur Tonne-Boutonue, Chasteau-Gontier, Curson, la Chevres Berre, and other lordships given by Louis XI. to Philip de Comines, lord of Ravestures: And there are also letters, importing, that it was for some singular services that he did

the king during his imprisonment in the castle of Peronne, and in his expedition against the Liegeois, in which he was forced to accompany the Duke of Burgundy. These are the words, 'who by his good advice, and other services that he did us, was the chief means of preserving our royal person from danger.' And at the bottom of these letters is written, with the king's own hand, 'You know how desirous I am that this affair should be despatched immediately, according to my intentions, and the causes that have induced me to do it; therefore pray take care not to make any difficulty about it, but despatch it presently without any manner of delay. Signed Louis.'

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## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE INTERVIEW.

THIS Chapter almost wholly relates to the feelings and explanations of the Countess Isabelle and Quentin Durward.

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## CHAPTER IX.

### THE INVESTIGATION.

THE meeting of the King and the Duke of Burgundy, in the Tower of Peronne, is thus described by the novelist:—

“At the first toll of the bell, which was to summon the great nobles of Burgundy together in council, with the very few French peers who were to be present on the occasion, Duke Charles, followed by a part of his train, armed with partisans and battle-axes, entered the Hall of Herbert's Tower, in the Castle of Peronne. King Louis, who had expected the visit, arose and made two steps towards the duke, and then remained standing with an air of dignity, which, in spite of the meanness of his dress, and the familiarity of his ordinary manners, he knew very well how to assume when he judged it necessary. Upon the present important crisis, the composure of his demeanour had an evident effect upon

his rival, who changed the abrupt and hasty step with which he entered the apartment, into one more becoming a great vassal entering the presence of his Lord Paramount. Apparently the duke had formed the internal resolution to treat Louis, in the outset at least, with the formalities due to his high station ; but at the same time it was evident, that, in doing so, he put no small constraint upon the fiery impatience of his own disposition, and was scarce able to control the feelings of resentment, and the thirst of revenge, which boiled in his bosom. Hence, though he compelled himself to use the outward acts, and in some degree the language, of courtesy and reverence, his colour came and went rapidly—his voice was abrupt, hoarse, and broken—his limbs shook, as impatient of the curb imposed on his motions—he frowned, and bit his lip until the blood came—and every look and movement shewed that the most passionate prince who ever lived was under the dominion of one of his most violent accesses of fury.”

The historian thus describes the duke's suppressed rage:

“ When the duke came into his presence, his voice trembled, by the violence of his rage.”

sion, so inclinable was he to be angry again. However, he made a low reverence with his body, but his gesture and words were sharp."

The remainder of this chapter contains such an union of the true and the fictitious, that we cannot attempt to follow it;—but shall give the relation of Comines, as to the terms upon which the treaty of Peronne was concluded :—

"It was agreed that the Lord Charles of France should renounce the Duchy of Normandy, and have Champagne, and Brie, and some other places adjacent, as an equivalent. Then the duke asked him, if he would go along with him to Liege, to revenge the treachery they had practised by his instigation, and by means of that interview: then he put him in mind of the nearness of blood between the king and the Bishop of Liege, who was of the House of Bourbon. The king answered, that when the peace was sworn (which he desired exceedingly) he would go with him to Liege, and carry with him as many, or as few forces, as he pleased: the duke was extremely pleased at his answer, and immediately, the articles being produced and

read, and the true cross which Charlemagne was wont to use (called the cross of victory) taken out of the king's cabinet, the peace was sworn, to the great joy and satisfaction of all people, and all the bells in the town were too little to express it. The Duke of Burgundy immediately despatched a courier with the news of this conclusion of peace into Bretagne, and with it he sent a duplicate of the articles, that they might see he had not deserted them, nor disengaged himself from their alliance; and, indeed, Duke Charles the king's brother had a good bargain, in respect of what he had made for himself in the late treaty in Bretagne, by which there was nothing left him but a bare pension, as you have heard before. Afterwards the king did me the honour to tell me, that I had done him some service in that pacification."

It may not be unamusing in this place to subjoin two letters, extracted from a collection called 'Le Cabinet du Roy,' written by the king while at Peronne:—

"Monsieur Le Grand Maistre, it may be known to you that for some time past, certain conversations have been held between my people and

those of the council of my brother-in-law of Burgundy; on the subject of affairs which were between him and me; and it has so far proceeded, that in order to determine on some good conclusion therein, I have come to this town of Peronne; at the which place, after several conferences which have been held between me and him, we have so managed that to-day, thanks to our Lord, I and my said brother have in the hands of the Cardinal d'Angers, being present all the nobles of the blood, prelates, and other great and notable personages in great number, as well of my company as of his, solemnly sworn final peace on the true cross, and promised to aid, defend, and succour one another for ever; and therewith we have sworn in the hands, and on the cross aforesaid, the treaty of Arras, with the censures and constraints therein contained, and others which have been cordially advised, in order to our remaining durably confederated in peace and friendship; incontinently on this being done, my said brother of Burgundy ordered thanks and praises to be given to God throughout the churches of his land, and he has already caused great solemnities to be held in this towir; and because that my said brother of Burgundy

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has received news that the Liegeois have taken my cousin of Liege, whom he is determined to recover by every means within his power, he has entreated and required me, in favour of him, and also as the said bishop is my near relative, whom I am in good right bound to succour, that it should please me to go to the confines of Liege which are near here, the which I have agreed to, and have taken in my company a part of my troops, of which the constable has charge, in the hope of soon returning, with the assistance of God; and seeing that these things are for my good, and that of all my subjects, I now write to you, as I am certain that you will be much pleased thereat, and in order that you may direct the like solemnities; on the other hand, Monsieur le Grand Maistre, as I did of late write to you, I pray you, with all possible expedition, to forward the departure of the whole of my Arriere-ban, together with all the free archers; and that you will take therein such order and provision that they may depart with as little charge and crowd of people as possible, and give to them proper persons to conduct them through each bailliage and seneschaussée; and, above all, take care that they commit no outrages. And this being done, if you will come to

Rouen, I should be very glad, that we may order and provide for whatever may be necessary to do, according as matters may be disposed of. Given at Peronne, the 9th Octobre. Signed, 'LOUIS;' lower down, 'NEURAIN;' and addressed, 'To our dear and beloved Cousin, the Count of Dammartin, Grand Master of France.' "

" Monsieur le Grand Maistre, I have received the letters which you have written me by Sire du Bouchage. Be satisfied, that I do not go on this journey to Liege with any constraint, and that I never went so cheerfully on a journey as I do on this ; and since God hath given me grace, and our Lady, to arm myself with the Duke of Burgundy, be assured that our imbrouillers yonder can never make him take arms against me. Monsieur le Grand Maistre, my friend, you have shewn well that you love me, and have done me the greatest service that you could have possibly done ; for had the people of the Duke of Burgundy supposed that I had wished to deceive them, and the others, on the other hand, believed that I had been made prisoner, thus, by their mutual suspicions, I should have been lost. Monsieur le Grand Maistre, touching the quarters of your gens-d'armes, you know what you

and I advised concerning the affair of Armagnac; and it appears to me, that you should send your men immediately into that country; I will give you there four or five captains, as soon as I shall be out of here; therefore choose which you will have, and I will send them to you. Monsieur le Grand Maistre, I pray you to come to Laon, and await me there, and send a messenger to me, so soon as you arrive there, and I will often send you news; and be assured that if Liege were put in subjection, the very next day I should come away; for the Duke of Burgundy is determined to press me to depart so soon as he shall have subdued Liege, and desires my return from thence more than I do myself. François du Mas will tell you the good cheer we are making, and adieu, Monsieur le Grand Maistre. Written at Namur, Octobre 22nd. Signed, 'LOUIS;' and underneath, 'JOURSIN;' and directed, 'To our very dear and beloved Cousin, the Count of Dammartin, Grand Master of France.'"

## CHAPTER X.

### THE HERALD.

“ LOUIS XI.” says the author of *Quentin Durward*, “ a habitual derider of whatever did not promise real power or substantial advantage, was an especial or professed contemner of heralds and heraldry, ‘ red, blue, and green, with all their trumpery.’ ”

Comines says, “ the king was not so stately or vain, as to have either herald or trumpet in his train.”

The chapter of the historian in which this passage is found has suggested the following dialogue :—

“ ‘ Speak for thyself,’ said the duke.—‘ In a word, art thou herald or not ?’

‘ Only for this occasion,’ said the detected official.

‘Now, by St. George!’ said the duke, eyeing Louis askance, we know no king—no gentleman, save *one*, who would have so prostituted the noble science on which royalty and gentry rest! save that king who sent to Edward of England a serving-man disguised as a herald.’

‘Such a stratagem,’ said Louis, ‘could only be justified at a court where no heralds were at the time, and where the emergency was urgent. But though it might have passed on the blunt and thick-witted islander, no one with brains a whit better than those of a wild boar would have thought of passing such a trick upon the accomplished court of Burgundy.’ ”

Our author has again indulged a remarkable license in chronology. The event alluded to occurred in the year 1475, and supplies Comines with the following very curious narrative:—

“The king went to dinner full of thought and consultation whether he had best send to the King of England or not. Before he sat down to the table, he spoke something of it to me, for his way was, (as you know, my lord of Vienna,) to speak privately and familiarly with those who

were about him, as I was then, and others since, and took a strange fancy to whisper into people's ears; he was thinking upon what the King of England's herald had told him, that he should send to the King of England for a passport for his ambassadors, as soon as he was landed, and that his negotiation should be addressed to the Lords Howard and Stanley. As soon as he was sat down, and had considered a little, according to his custom (which, to those that were unacquainted with his fancy seemed strange, and might induce them to believe he was a prince of no great wisdom, but his actions declared the contrary,) he whispered me in the ear, and bid me rise and go dine in my chamber, and send for a servant belonging to the Lord des Halles, who was son to Merichon of Rochelle, and ask him whether he would venture with a message into the King of England's army in the habit of an herald. I obeyed his orders, and was much astonished at the sight of the servant, for he seemed to me neither of a stature nor aspect to be fit for such an undertaking; yet his judgment was good, (as I found afterwards) and his manner of expressing himself tolerable enough; but the king had never talked with him but once:

the poor man was confounded at the motion, and fell down upon his knees before me, as one that thought himself ruined and undone. I did all I could to encourage him, told him he should have ready money for his pains, and a place in the Isle of Ree ; and, for his greater assurance, I persuaded him that the English made the first overture themselves. I made him dine with me, and (there being nobody but he and I, and one servant that waited) by degrees I gave him instructions what he was to do, and how he was to behave himself in this affair. Not long after, the King sent for me, and I gave him a relation of what had passed, and recommended others to him, which in my opinion were more proper for his design ; but he would employ no other, went and talked with him himself, and animated him more with one word, than I could do with a hundred. There came along with the King, into my chamber, only the Lord de Villiers, at that time master of the horse, and now bailiff of Caen. When the King had prepared and encouraged his man, he sent the master of the horse for the banner of a trumpet, to make his herald a coat of arms, for the King was not so stately, or vain, as to have either herald or

trumpet in his train, as other princes have; wherefore the master of the horse and one of my servants made up the coat of arms as well as they could; and he having fetched a scutcheon from a little herald (called Plein Chemin) belonging to the Admiral of France, they fastened it about him, sent for his boots and his cloak privately; and his horse being got ready, he mounted, and nobody perceived him, with a bag or budget at the bow of his saddle, in which his coat of arms was put; and having been well instructed what he was to say, away he went directly to the English army. Upon his arrival in his herald's coat, he was immediately stopt, and carried to the King of England's tent; being asked his business, he told them he was come with a message from the King of France to the King of England, and had orders to address himself to the Lords Howard and Stanley. He was carried into a tent to dinner, and very civilly entertained. After the King of England had dined, the herald was sent for, who told him that his errand was to acquaint his majesty that the King of France for a long time had had a desire to be at amity with him, that both their kingdoms might be at quiet, and enjoy the bless-



ing of peace: That since his accession to the crown of France he never had made war, or attempted any thing against him or his kingdom; and as for having entertained the Earl of Warwick formerly, he said his master had done that more in opposition to the Duke of Burgundy than out of any quarrel to him. Then he remonstrated to him, that the Duke of Burgundy had not invited him over, but to make his own terms the better with the King of France; and if others had joined with him, it was only to secure themselves against their former offences, or to advance their own private affairs; which, when they had once compassed, they would not regard the interest of the King of England. He represented, likewise, the lateness of the season, that winter was approaching, that his master was sensible of the great charge the King of England had been at, and that he knew there were in England many, both of the nobility and merchants, who were desirous of a war on this side of the water; yet when the King of England should be inclined to a treaty, his majesty would not be averse, nor refuse to come to such terms as should be agreeable both to himself and his subjects; and if the

King of England had a mind to be more particularly informed of these matters, if he would give him a passport for a hundred horse, his master would send ambassadors to him with full instructions: or if the king should think it more proper to depute certain commissioners, and let them have a conference together in some village between the two armies, he would willingly consent, and send them a passport. The King of England, and part of his nobility, were extremely pleased with these proposals; a passport was given to the herald, according to his desire; and, having been presented with four nobles in money, he was attended by a herald from the King of England for the King of France's passport, in the same form as the other; which being given, the commissioners met in a field near Amiens."

This narrative of Comines in all probability suggested to the novelist the scene of the disguised Bohemian.

## CHAPTER XI.

### THE EXECUTION.

THIS spirited narrative is founded only on the imagination of the author, who has here embodied some of the atrocities that may be conceived of Tristan L'Hermite and his assistants.

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## CHAPTER XII.

### A PRIZE FOR HONOUR.

THE affections of Isabelle and Quentin furnish the principal incidents of this chapter.

## CHAPTERS XIII. AND XIV.

## THE SALLY.

WE cannot feel justified in extracting so large a portion of 'Quentin Durward,' as these chapters ; in which, with his usual skill in blending history and romance, the author has mixed up the revenge of the Duke of Burgundy against the Liegeois, and the suberviency of Louis, with the private fortunes of Quentin Durward. But we cannot avoid publishing the whole narrative of Comines, by which the curious may compare the coincidence or the discrepancy of the various passages of the novelist and the historian. It is, perhaps, unnecessary for us once more to observe that William de la Marck was perfectly unconnected with these proceedings. We have run the extracts from Comines into

a connected narrative. In the original they occupy four chapters :

“ After the conclusion of the peace, the king and the Duke of Burgundy set out the next morning for Cambray, and from thence towards the country at Liege: it was the beginning of winter, and the weather very bad. The king had with him only his Scotch guards and a small body of his standing forces, but he ordered three hundred of his men at arms to join him. The duke’s army marched in two columns, one was commanded by the Marshal of Burgundy, (of whom I have spoken before,) and with him were all the Burgundians, the above-mentioned nobility of Savoy, and a great number of forces out of Hainault, Luxembourg, Namur, and Limburg. The other body was led by the duke himself. When they came near the city of Liege, a council of war was held in the duke’s presence, in which it was the opinion of some of the officers, that part of the army should march back, since the gates and walls of that city were demolished the year before, and no hopes were left them of being relieved, for the king was with us in person, and had made some overtures for them, which was almost as much

as was demanded of them: but the duke was not all pleased with this proposition, and it was well he was not, for never prince was nearer his ruin, and it was his suspicion of the king which was the occasion of his rejecting it: certainly they who proposed it, out of an opinion of their too great strength, and that half of the army was sufficient for that undertaking, were very ill advised; it was a great instance of their folly or pride, and I have often heard of such counsel that has been given, but it was always by such officers as were either ignorant of what was fit to be done, or such as had a mind to be esteemed for their courage; but our king understood an affair of this nature excellently well. He was slow and timorous in undertaking any action of importance, but when once he had attempted, he provided so well, that it was hardly possible for his designs to miscarry.

The Marshal of Burgundy was ordered with the brigade under his command, to advance before, and possess himself of the city; if he was refused entrance, he was ordered to force it if he could, for there were already several deputies from the city coming and going about an accommodation. The marshal advanced as far as

Namur, and the king and duke arriving the next day, he removed and marched on. As soon as he approached the city, the poor inconsiderate citizens made a sally, but were easily defeated, (at least a good part of them,) and the rest retired. During this confusion in the town, the bishop made his escape, and came to our army. There was at that time a legate sent from the pope to pacify their disputes, and to inquire into the difference between the bishop and the people, for they remained still under excommunication for the above-mentioned reasons and offences. This legate exceeding his commission, and hoping to make himself bishop of that city, favoured the people, advised them to take arms, and to stand upon their defence, and other rebellious counsels he gave them besides: but finding what danger the town was in, he endeavoured to make his escape; and got away with his whole train, (consisting of five-and-twenty persons very well mounted,) but they were all taken. The duke having notice of it, sent word to those who had taken him, that they should carry him somewhere out of the way, (without acquainting him with it,) and make him pay as great a ransom for his liberty as they could get;

because if it came publicly to his knowledge, the honour he was obliged to pay to the apostolic chair would not suffer him to detain him a prisoner. They could not take his advice, but fell out among themselves, and some who pretended to a share, coming to the duke with their complaints, as he was sitting publicly at dinner, he sent to have the legate delivered into his hands, took him from them, shewed him abundance of respect, treated him very honourably, and ordered every thing that had been taken from him and his retinue, to be restored. The great body of forces which were in the vanguard, under the command of the Marshal of Burgundy, and the Lord d'Hymbercourt, presuming they should carry their point, marched directly to the city, and (moved by their avarice,) they thought it better to plunder it, than to accept of a treaty which was offered; supposing there was no necessity of staying for the king, (who was seven or eight leagues behind,) they advanced till just about night they arrived at the suburbs, into which they entered in a part that led directly to one of the gates which had been lately repaired by the citizens; some treaty there passed between them, but nothing was concluded on.



Night came upon them, (and it grew very dark,) before they had taken up their quarters, so that not knowing where to dispose themselves, they were in great disorder, some walked up and down, others called out for their masters, their comrades, and their captains. Monsieur John de Vilde and other officers in the town, perceiving their confusion, took courage, and (the inconvenience of having had their walls thrown down being now of great advantage to them,) they sallied through their ruins and out of the breaches in the walls as they pleased upon those who were in the front, but they attacked the pages and servants (who were left with the horses at the farther end of the suburbs, where they entered,) by the way of the vineyards and little hills, and slew many of them, but a greater number fled, (for the night knows no shame :) in short, they attacked us so vigorously, that in this action they slew above eight hundred men, of which one hundred were men at arms. But the wiser and more courageous of that vanguard kept themselves together in a body, (the greatest part of them being men at arms, and persons of distinction,) and marched up with their colours directly to the gate, imagining if there was a

sally, it would be that way. A continued rain had made the ways prodigious miry, and the men at arms, being dismounted, stood up to their ancles in mud and dirt. All the inhabitants that remained in the town resolved to make a general sally at once, and with great shouts, and a vast number of torches, they were marching through the gate, when our men (who were not far off, and had four good pieces of cannon with them,) fired up the street among them two or three times, and made such a slaughter, that they retired out of the suburbs, and shut up their gates. Whilst this dispute lasted in the suburbs, those who had sallied by the walls, being near the town, had got together some few carts and waggons, with which they fortified themselves, and reposed, (though but indifferently,) for they continued out of the town from two o'clock in the morning till six : but as soon as the day began to break, and we were able to discover where they lay, we immediately repulsed them. In this action, Monsieur John de Vilde was wounded, and died in the town two days after, and two or three officers of note besides.

Though sallies out of a town are sometimes

necessary, and cannot well be avoided, yet, though they are performed with good success, they are very dangerous, and of ill consequence to the besieged ; since ten men to them is a greater loss than a hundred to the besiegers, because their number is less, and they cannot be recruited as they please ; besides, they may happen to lose their governor, or some other considerable officer, for want of whose conduct, not being able to make any longer defence, they may be forced to surrender the town immediately. The news of this action was presently brought to the duke, who was in his quarters about four or five leagues from the city. At first the whole body was reported to be cut off ; however, the duke mounted, and ordered all the forces that were with him to march immediately, commanding that the news of this action should be kept secret from the king. In our approach to another part of the town, we had intelligence that all was well, that there were not so many slain as was at first supposed, and that among them there was not any person of note but one Monsieur de Sergine, a Flemish knight. At the same time we were informed, that the gentlemen and officers that were left of

the vanguard were in great distress and want of provisions, having been upon very hard duty all night long, and upon their feet in the dirt and mire at the very gates of the town ; that some of the Infantry who had fled, and were returned, were so dispirited and out of heart, that no great exploit could be expected from them ; and therefore they earnestly desired the duke to march up with all diligence to their intended post, which would oblige the enemy to divide their forces, and not lie with their whole garrison upon them. They pressed in like manner for supplies of provisions, for they had not one morsel left to subsist on. The duke immediately sent them what provisions could be got, under a convoy of three hundred horse ; and it was time, for none of them, except a few that had brought some wine with them, had either eaten or drank any thing for two or three days and a night, and to mend the matter, they had the hardest weather in the world. On their side it was impossible to enter, unless the duke gave the garrison a diversion. They had abundance of the citizens wounded, and among the rest, the Prince of Orange, (whom I had forgot to name)

who gave signal proofs of his courage and conduct, and would not stir from his post during the whole time. The Lords du Lau and d'Ursé behaved themselves very gallantly also, though above two thousand men deserted and ran away from them in the night.

It was almost night when the duke received this last intelligence, and having despatched the above-mentioned supplies, he returned to his standard to give a full relation to the king, who seemed to be extremely pleased, for the contrary would have proved much to his prejudice. It was not long before we arrived at the suburbs, and then a strong party of volunteers, men at arms and archers, were detached to possess the suburbs, which was easily done; and the Bastard of Burgundy, (who had a great command under the duke, at that time) the Lord de Ravestein, the Count de Roucy, (the constable's son) and several other persons of quality, took up their quarters in it, and some of them just by the gate which the townsmen had repaired, as they had done the other. The duke had his quarters in the middle of the suburbs, but for that night the king made shift with a good large and well-

furnished farm about a quarter of a league from the town, with a strong party both of our and his own men for his guard.

The city of Liege is seated in a very fruitful country, full of little mountains and valleys, with the river Maes running through the middle of it, and is much about the same bigness as Roan, and was at that time very populous. It was no great distance from that gate where we had our quarter, to the other, where our vanguard were posted, provided we could have gone strait through the town, but being obliged to go round on the outside of it, it was full three leagues about, by reason of the holes and little sloughs which (it being mid-winter, and very foul) the weather had filled up. The walls likewise were all demolished, and they might attack our men in what quarter they pleased: besides, the foundation being stony and a hard rock, they could never make a ditch, and at that time had nothing but a small trench, which they had thrown up not long before to defend them. Our vanguard were extremely overjoyed and animated at our approach the first night of our coming, for then the force of the garrison was divided into two parts. About midnight we had

a terrible alarm, and the Duke of Burgundy was immediately in the street; not long after the king and constable came to him, and had made great haste to get thither so soon. The darkness and horror of the night contributed much to the terror of our soldiers, some of them crying out, 'they sally out of this gate, and some of them out of the other.' The Duke of Burgundy never wanted courage, but his conduct often failed him; and to speak impartially, he did not behave himself at this very time so prudently as he ought to have done, considering the king was there present. In this confusion the king took upon him to command, and said to the constable, march you with your brigade to such a place, for if the enemy falls upon us any where, it must necessarily be there. He who had seen his countenance, and heard him speak, would have acknowledged him to be a prince of great courage and prudence; but this was not the first action in which he had given demonstration of it: however, this was only a false alarm, and the king and the duke returned both to their quarters.

The next morning the king removed into the suburbs, and took up his quarters in a little

house next door to the duke's, his guards consisting of a hundred Scots, and his household troops were posted near him. The Duke of Burgundy was extremely jealous, lest either the king should find means to get into the city, or return home before he could take it, or else (being so near) make some attempt upon his person. To prevent the worst, he made a draught out of his guards, of three hundred of the stoutest men at arms that he could depend on, and posted them in a great barn that lay between their two quarters. The walls of the barn were broken down, to render their sallies the more easy, if there should be occasion, and these troops were placed there to watch and observe the king's motions, who was quartered just by them. In this manner we spent eight days; during the last day (in which the town was taken) neither the duke nor any body else pulled off their arms. The night before the surrender, at a council of war, it was concluded to storm the town the next morning, which was Sunday the 30th of October, 1468; and accordingly orders were given out, that at such a signal (which was the firing of one great gun alone, then of two presently after, and then discon-



tinuing,) without farther orders they should begin the assault on one side, as the duke designed to attack them on the other, by eight in the morning. That night (as was concluded) the duke disarmed himself, and ordered all his army to do the same, and to refresh themselves, especially those in the barn. At that instant (as if they had been informed of our design) the Liegeois resolved to make a sally upon our quarters, as they had done before upon the other."

"In this chapter I shall shew you an example, by which you may observe, that the greatest prince or potentate may suddenly fall into dangerous inconveniences, occasioned by a small number of their enemies, and from whence it may reasonably be inferred that all enterprises ought to be well weighed and considered, before they are put in execution. This city had not one soldier in their garrison, but of their own territories, not one man of quality, or good officer among them; for those few which they had were all killed and wounded two or three days before. They had neither gate, nor wall, nor fortification, and but one piece of cannon, which was good for nothing. Their garrison consisted

only of their own townsmen, and seven or eight hundred foot from a small mountain on the back of the town, called the country of Franche-Mont, but they always had the reputation of being valiant and stout soldiers: they were now arrived to the height of desperation, and having no hopes of relief, since the king, from whom alone they could expect it, had renounced his alliance, and was come in person against them, they resolved to make a general sally, and put all to a venture, for they looked upon themselves as lost. It was concluded, that by the ruins of the walls which were behind the Duke of Burgundy's quarters, all their choicest troops should sally, which were six hundred of those from the country of Franche-Mont, led and conducted by the masters of the two houses where the king and the Duke of Burgundy were quartered; to which place, by the crack in a great rock, they might march securely before they were perceived, unless they discovered themselves by any noise. Though there were several scouts by the way, they were not discouraged, imagining they should either kill them, or be at the king's or duke's quarters as soon as they should give the alarm. Besides, they presumed

their two guides would conduct them directly to their own houses, where (as is said before,) the king and the duke were quartered; and not halting any where by the way, they hoped they might be able to surprise them, and either kill or take them before their guards could come into their assistance. Having not far to march, they supposed they should be able to make their retreat, or if the worst came to the worst, they could but die, and they were contented to lose their lives in so just and honourable an undertaking, for without it, as is said before, they found themselves utterly ruined. It was also ordered that all the people of the city should sally out of the gate which opened into the great street of our suburbs, with great shouts and cries, hoping by that means to defeat that body of forces that were posted in the suburbs, and to obtain a complete victory, or a glorious death, Had they had a thousand men at arms, all regular forces, their attempt would have been great, and I question not but they would have succeeded in it, since with those few which they had, they were very near effecting their designs. According to the resolution that had been taken, about ten at night, the six hundred men from Franche-

Mont sallied forth by the breaches of the walls, seized upon most of our outguards and put them to the sword, (among which there were three gentlemen of the House of Burgundy,) and certainly if they had marched on directly, and made no noise till they had arrived at the place where they designed, they had slain both those princes in their beds, without any great opposition. Behind the Duke of Burgundy's quarters there was a tent in which the present Duke of Alençon lay, and with him the Lord de Craon; they stopped there for some time, thrust their pikes through the tents, and killed some of the servants. This giving an alarm to the whole army, some few ran to their arms, several got up, and leaving their tents, ran immediately to the two houses, where the king and the duke were quartered. The barn I mentioned before, where the duke had posted three hundred men at arms, being close to both houses, they gave them some thrusts with their pikes out of the holes which had been made for the convenience of their sallies. Not full two hours before this attack, these gentlemen had pulled off their arms to refresh and prepare themselves for the assault the next day, so that most of them were naked, though

some few had clapped on their arms upon the uproar at the Duke of Alençon's tent; and these were they who stopped their progress, by charging them through the doors and the holes which they had made, and were the only body of troops that preserved those two great princes; for by this delay, several others had time enough to arm, and make head against them. I and two gentlemen more of his bed-chamber lay that night in the Duke of Burgundy's chamber, (which was very small,) and above us there were twelve archers upon the guard, all of them in their clothes, and playing at dice. His main guard was at a good distance, and towards the gate of the town; in short, the master of the house where the duke was quartered, having drawn out a good party of the Liegeois, came so suddenly upon the duke, we had scarce time to put on his back and breast-plate and clap a steel cap upon his head: as soon as we had done it, we ran down the stairs into the street, but we found our archers engaged with the enemy, and much ado they had to defend the doors and the windows against them. In the street there was a terrible noise and uproar, some crying out, 'God bless the King,' others, 'God bless the Duke of

Burgundy,' and others, ' God bless the King, and kill, kill.' It was sometime before our archers and we could beat the enemy from the doors, and get out of the house : we knew not in what condition the king was, nor whether he was for or against us, which put us into a great consternation. As soon as we were got into the street, by the help of two or three torches we discovered some few of our men, and could perceive people fighting round about us, but the action there lasted not long, for the soldiers from all parts came in thronging to the duke's quarters : the duke's landlord was the first man of the enemy's side that was killed (who died not presently, for I heard him speak,) and with him his whole party (at least the greatest part of them,) were cut in pieces.

The king was also assaulted after the same manner by his landlord, who entered his house, but was slain by the Scotch-guards. These Scotch troops behaved themselves valiantly, maintained their ground, would not stir one step from the king, and were very nimble with their bows and arrows, with which it is said they wounded and killed more of the Burgundians, than of the enemy. Those who were ap-

pointed, made their sally at the gate, but they found a strong guard to oppose them, which presently gave them a warm reception, and presently repulsed them ; they not being so good soldiers as the others. As soon as these people were repulsed, the king and duke met, and had a conference together ; seeing several lie dead about them, they were afraid their loss had been greater than really it proved to be ; for upon examination, they found they had not lost many men, though several were wounded ; and without dispute, if they had not stopped at those two places, and especially at the barn (where they met with some small opposition,) but had followed their guides, they had killed both the king and the Duke of Burgundy, and in probability would have defeated the rest of the army. Each of these princes retired to his quarters greatly astonished at the boldness of the attempt ; and immediately a council of war was called, to consult what measures were to be taken the next morning in relation to the assault ; which had been resolved upon before. The king was in great perplexity, as fearing that if the duke took not the town by storm, the inconvenience would fall upon him, and he should either be kept still in

restraint, or made an absolute prisoner, for the duke could not think himself secure against a war with France, if he should suffer him to depart. By this mutual distrust of each other, one may clearly observe the miserable condition of these two princes, who could not by any means confide in one another, though they had made a firm peace not a fortnight before, and had sworn solemnly to preserve it."

"THE king, to free himself from these doubts, about an hour after his return from the sally (I mentioned before) to his quarters, sent for some of the duke's officers that had assisted at the council of war, to know the result of it; they told him it was resolved that the town should be stormed next morning in the manner that was concerted before. The king made several grave and judicious objections, and such as the duke's officers approved of very well, for they were all apprehensive of the assault, in respect of the great numbers of people in the town, and the signal proofs they had given of their courage not two hours before; so that the officers seemed inclined rather to defer it for some days longer, and endeavoured to have taken it by composition. They came immediately to the duke's



quarters, and made a report of all the king had said unto them, and it was my fortune to be present. They represented all the king's fears, and their own too, but supposing the duke would not take it so well from them, they fathered it all upon his majesty. The duke took it extremely ill, and replied, that the king raised those difficulties only to preserve the town: besides, he told them, that it was impossible his design should miscarry, because they had no artillery within, nor walls without, to defend them, that their fortifications and their gates were demolished, and therefore he was resolved to delay no longer, but to storm the town as had been concluded before. However, if the king pleased, he might retire to Namur, and stay there till the town was taken; but for his own part he would not stir, till he saw what would be the event of this enterprise. The whole army dreaded this assault, and therefore none of the officers were pleased with this resolution, which was communicated to the king, not bluntly but in the mildest terms imaginable. The king knew what the duke would be at, but dissembled it, and declared he would not go to Namur, but take his fortune the next morning

with the rest. My opinion is, that if he had been willing to make his escape, he might have done it that night, for he had with him a hundred archers of his guard, several gentlemen of his retinue, and not much less than three hundred men at arms ; but when his honour lay at stake, he scorned to do it, lest the world should have upbraided him with want of courage.

In expectation of day, the whole army reposed themselves in their arms for some time, and several went to their devotions, for it was looked upon as a very dangerous enterprize. As soon as it was broad day, and the hour come for the assault, (which as I said before was eight in the morning) the duke ordered the signal to be given, and the great guns to be fired successively as was agreed on, to give them notice who were in our vanguard on the other side of the town (at a great distance to go about, but through the town it was but a little way :) the vanguard took the signal, and immediately prepared to storm the town ; the duke's trumpets began to sound, the colours advanced to the walls, and the soldiers marched after in very good order. The king was at that time in the middle of the street, well attended with his

three hundred men at arms, his guards, and some lords and officers of his household. When we came so near that we expected to be immediately at push of pike, we found no resistance at all, and not above two or three men upon the guard; for supposing, because it was Sunday, that we would not have attacked them, they were all gone to dinner, and we found the cloth laid in every house that we entered. A multitude is seldom formidable, unless commanded by some officer for whom they have a reverence and fear; yet there are certain hours and seasons in which their fury is terrible.

Before this assault the Liegeois were much fatigued and dispirited, as well for the loss they had sustained in their two sallies, (in which all their chief officers were slain,) as for the great pains and hard service which they had endured for eight days successively; for nobody was exempted from being upon the guard. They being blocked up on both sides (as I hinted before) I do suppose they thought that Sunday might have been a day of rest to them, (but they were mightily mistaken,) for they did not make the least defence, either on our side, or on the other, where the Burgundians and our vanguard made

their attack, and entered before us ; they killed but few, for the people fled over the Maes into the forest of Ardene, and from thence into such places of refuge as they thought most proper to secure themselves in. On that side of the town where I was, I saw but three men and one woman dead ; and I believe there were not above two hundred killed in the whole, the rest being all fled, got into the houses, or churches for sanctuary. The king marched at his own leisure (for he saw there was no opposition,) and the army (consisting by my computation of about forty thousand men,) entered at both ends of the town. The duke having advanced a good way into the city, turned back to meet the king, conducting him as far as the palace, and then returned to the great church of St. Lambert, into which his soldiers were forcing their way for the sake both of the prisoners and the plunder : for though he had posted a battalion of his guards there to secure the church, yet the soldiers could not be restrained, but fell upon them, and attempted to break open the doors. I saw the Duke of Burgundy kill one man himself at his arrival, upon which the soldiers retreated, and the church was preserved for that time ; but

at length all the men which had fled thither for sanctuary were made prisoners, and all the furniture taken away. The rest of the churches, which were very numerous, (for I have heard the Lord d'Hymbercourt, who knew the town very well, say, that there were as many masses said in it every day, as in Rome,) were most of them plundered under pretence of searching for prisoners. I myself was in none but the great church, but I was told so, and saw the marks of it, for which a long time after the Pope excommunicated all such as had any goods belonging to the churches in that city, unless they restored them; and the duke appointed certain officers to go up and down his country, to see the Pope's sentence put in execution. After the taking and plundering the city, about noon the duke returned to the palace; the king had dined before he came, but expressed much joy at his good fortune, and highly applauded his magnanimity and conduct; for he knew well enough it would be carried to the duke, and he had a longing desire to be at home in his own kingdom. After dinner the king and the duke were very merry together, and if the king had been lavish in his commendations behind his back, he extolled his actions

much more to his face, and the duke was not a little pleased to hear it.

But I am obliged to make a small digression, and give an account of the calamities of those miserable people who fled out of the town, that I may confirm what I said in the beginning of these memoirs, when I spoke of the misfortunes and dreadful consequences which I have observed to follow those who are defeated in battle, whether king or prince, or any other potentate whatever.

These miserable creatures fled through the country of Ardene with their wives and children. A gentleman in those parts (who till that time had been of their side,) fell upon, and cut off a great party of them; and to ingratiate himself with the conqueror, he gave him an account of what he had done, and represented the number both of the prisoners and slain to be much greater than in reality it was, though indeed it was too great; but, however, he made his own peace with the duke by that action. Others fled to Meziere, which is a French town upon the Maes. Two or three of their ringleaders were taken and presented to the duke, (one of which was named Madoulet) whom he ordered imme-

diately to be put to death ; and several of the rest died with hunger, or cold, or watching."

We conclude our little work by an extract from the chronicles of Mezeray :—

" The badauds of Paris, on this shameful transaction, taught their jays, jackdaws, and parrots, to repeat ' Peronne, Peronne,' as their royal master passed the streets ; a sarcasm which that irritable monarch revenged, by sending detachments into each street, to carry off from the inhabitants not only these chattering birds, but also their stags, goats, and kids, fawns, cranes, swans, and cormorants."

THE END.

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